

STRUCTURE AND USE OF ALTIPLANO SPANISH

By

BILLIE DALE STRATFORD

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by

Billie Dale Stratford

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STRUCTURE AND USE OF ALTIPLANO SPANISH

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Billie Dale Stratford

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This dissertation provides a basic structural description of a variety of Spanish spoken on the altiplano of Bolivia and Peru, which reflects influences from the indigenous languages after nearly 500 years of language and culture contact and extensive bilingualism in the region. Anthropological field techniques of data collection and analyses were employed in the study to determine characteristic aspects of the grammar and usage patterns of the dialect. A knowledge of the language and culture of the Aymara people, who have occupied the target area of the research for millenia, was necessary for understanding the contexts for the linguistic patterns of this dialect. Previous research on the phonology and grammar of the dialect has been incorporated into the report of this research for the purpose of gathering into one document the available literature on the topic.

This study has demonstrated that there is substrate influence in the syntax of the dialect, and that it is particularly manifested in the verb system, in which selected verb tenses are used to express a category of evidentials that has come into the language from the substrate. Aymara cultural postulates, such as politeness and respect for one's interlocutor, have also influenced language patterns in several areas of Altiplano Spanish syntax. The research has also shown that the direction of influence in the context of language and culture contact may flow from the oppressed language and culture to the socially and politically dominant language and culture, and that this influence may be profound indeed. The results of this research contribute to Spanish dialectology and to language and culture contact studies in the Andean region.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Aymara people, who number about three million, live primarily on the high plains and mountains of the central Andes in Bolivia, southern Peru and northern Chile. The Lake Titicaca Basin is the historic and current center of their culture, which from there radiates south and eastward to La Paz and surrounding communities, south to southern Bolivia and the mountains of northern Chile and southwest to Moquegua and Tacna in coastal Peru. Migration, primarily for economic reasons, to urban centers in the last forty years and especially in the last five years has resulted in large concentrations of Aymara also in Lima, Peru, Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Arica, Chile (Bourque 1984, Albó 1981).

This dissertation is concerned with a case of language contact which has existed in a region of Aymara concentration since the Conquest. Specifically, the object of the research reported here is a structural description of the variety of Spanish which is spoken on the altiplano of Bolivia and Peru. The linguistic situation in this region is somewhat unique in Latin America, in that the typical post-Conquest language use pattern has resulted in the elimination of most of the indigenous languages in favor of the status language, Spanish. The Aymara people, on the other hand, have persisted in the use of their native language, to the extent that they have developed projects for its broadened social usage (educational and literary) and heightened prestige. The influence of the Aymara language on the Spanish

of the region may be seen in part as a concomitant of the vitality of Aymara persistence in the use of their native language. During the nearly five centuries of contact between Spanish and Aymara, elements of each language have been introduced into the other. As Laprade (1981) notes, the interinfluence of these languages was not a process of pidginization and subsequent creolization in any direction. Neither language has undergone any degree of morphological simplification.

A primary source of interlingual influence is the multilingualism that characterizes the Andean region. Census reports indicate that Spanish-indigenous language bilingualism or multilingualism is the norm for nearly all of the Andean region in both Bolivia and Peru, excluding coastal Peru, where Spanish monolingualism is reported higher (Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Bolivia 1980; Instituto Nacional de Estadística del Peru 1981), and historical data indicate that Spanish-indigenous bilingualism has been the norm throughout the Andes since the conquest (Laprade 1981).

Although Aymara (as well as Quechua in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru) intragroup language maintenance is strong, the frequency of Spanish use between Andean ethnic groups, social classes and urban-rural associations also appears to be quite high and is probably both cause and consequence of the high degree of bilingualism in the region. Yet a systematic structural description of Andean Spanish remains to be done. The purpose of this study is to provide a structural description of the Spanish of the Andes in the immediate zone of Lake Titicaca in Peru and Bolivia (hereafter referred to as 'Altiplano Spanish'), and an analysis of the usage patterns of Altiplano Spanish in its social and cultural contexts. The present study will serve as a basis for a more general description of Andean Spanish in the future.

There is a further, very practical need for such a study. Particularly in Peru, where it carries the low socio-economic and political status association with serranos, 'highlanders' (Wölck 1972, López et al. 1984) and to a lesser extent in Bolivia, Andean Spanish is regarded by speakers of other dialects of Spanish as a form of incorrect or substandard speech. The denigration of the dialect, along with other manifestations of social and political oppression of indigenous language and culture, has subsequent negative consequences for speakers of it in, for example, educational settings. Further, such negative attitudes toward this dialect have been internalized by some of its speakers. A linguistic analysis of Andean Spanish, entailing full explication of its relationship to the substrate<sup>1</sup> languages and its systematic contrasts with other dialects of Spanish, may contribute to its recognition as a legitimate language form, by speakers of the dialect and speakers of other dialects of Spanish, as well.

During a preliminary field trip to Peru, Bolivia and Chile in 1984,<sup>2</sup> I was assured that the study of the Spanish spoken in the highlands of Bolivia and Peru would be received as an integral part of the developing indigenous studies of the area—which are being undertaken in large measure by the Aymara people themselves—and as a welcome contribution to national social science research efforts in both Peru and Bolivia.

The following provides a summary of the areas of theory and research which have guided this study.

### Review of the Literature

#### Explanatory Trends in Dialectology

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<sup>1</sup>the influencing language.

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All spoken languages change constantly, and a result of that change may involve dialectal variation within a language. Dialects compel great interest, in the fact of their "different sameness" for the layperson; and for the linguist, in the realization that present variation may prefigure significant diversity in a long historical process of language differentiation (García and Otheguy 1983: 103). The questions raised in dialectology deal with the products of linguistic change, their spatial and temporal distributions, and the causes and conditions for this change.

Linguists distinguish two fundamental sources for language variation, which may be characterized as systemic (implicit tendencies within a given linguistic system) and non- or extra-systemic factors (language contact, social and psychological pressures). In other words, there may be both linguistically and culturally motivated innovations in language. Sapir's poetic characterization of the former is well known: "Language moves down time in a current of its own making. It has a drift . . ." (1921: 165). Language drift, in Sapir's terms, worked through the unconscious selection by speakers of cumulative individual variations. Sapir had in mind changes in phonology or grammar which can be accounted for on the basis of the linguistic environment, such as the dental articulation of /s/ in many dialects of American Spanish (García 1968: 76).

A consideration of systemic factors often includes historical dialect studies. Such is the case for American Spanish, in which variation may at times be traced to original peninsular dialects. For example, although thorough surveys of the historical antecedents for any region of American Spanish have not been done, the sixteenth century Andalucian heritage of certain aspects of American Spanish has been well documented (Lope Blanch 1968). In the area of pronunciation (perhaps because it is better researched),

"it would be more proper to refer to Castilian and Atlantic Spanish" (Lapesa 1964: 182) rather than peninsular and American Spanish, so many features are shared by the latter and Andalucian language history. Canfield in particular has amply demonstrated the importance of the diachronic factor in American Spanish pronunciation (cf. Canfield 1964 and 1982).

Most linguists link language change to extra-systemic social change<sup>3</sup> (cf., for example Weinreich 1979 [1953]; McDavid 1964; Swadesh 1964; Bright 1964; Ferguson 1972 [1959]; Labov 1972a [1969]; Carpenter 1983). Early in American linguistics, Kroeber (1906, cited in Hymes 1983) assessed the relation between dialect and political, social and cultural units, showing how the relation differed between cultural groups. Sociolinguistic research often involves the correlation of particular dialect variants with social factors (age, ethnicity, gender, class, etc.) and/or with different functional values ("diglossia" [Ferguson 1972]). And finally, some linguists have argued that the stimulus for *any* systemic change in language may be found in the social environment (Bright 1964; Capell 1966; Day 1985).

The study of language contact in particular has long been fruitful in establishing the sources of particular dialect variation. Weinreich laid the groundwork for a contemporary understanding of language contact in his Languages In Contact (1979 [1953]), in which the sociolinguistic character of intimate contact and diffusion among languages is given fundamental treatment. Weinreich (1968) refers to the study of a language *variety* (referring to the linguistic system as such) and the study of a *dialect* (a variety combined with its spatial and temporal attributes) as two essentially different but highly compatible studies. Both Weinreich (1979 [1953] and 1968) and

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<sup>3</sup>apart from the Chomskian trend, which isolates linguistic structure as the object of study apart from speakers and context.

Haugen (1956) stress the necessity for research in language contact situations to provide (1) a good description of the results of language contact (i. e., the linguistic analysis) and (2) attention to the social factors in current patterns of usage which may account for linguistic change and which may point to on-going processes leading to further change or maintenance. Labov (1972b) and Hardman and Hamano (1981) go somewhat further than Weinreich and Haugen in stressing the *necessity* of incorporating non-linguistic (cultural contextual) data in the course of linguistic data collection and analysis in order to achieve accuracy in both.

The dialect literature in general is often concerned with contact influence in the areas of phonology and lexicon, and usually does not prepare us to consider more fundamental linguistic changes. However, it is the grammar of a language as it serves a particular cultural context, more than its phonology or lexicon, which radiates information about a culture. Therefore interference at this level (although not necessarily its content or shape) might also be anticipated in certain contact situations. There are broad hints that such changes are widespread in areas of extensive contact and lingua franca use. Mazrui (1975), for example, examines the problem of whether to utilize English or indigenous languages in African schools. He concludes that despite the historical reasons for the spread of English, it is quite capable, in the hands of Africans, of doing justice to the African experience. He speaks of an English that is like no other in the world, that has been accommodated at the syntactic level through contact with African languages and cultures to express African reality.

The present study was carried out in the tradition of those dialect studies which pursue two goals. The first and primary goal focuses on the description of linguistic variety in the language of a particular group of



people, often as a result of language contact. The second goal involves placing the linguistic data in the contexts of language use and of the identities of the speakers. In the U. S. this tradition of dialect study is identified with William Labov, whose studies of the diverse dialects in New York City (1966, 1972a, 1972b, and Labov et al. 1968) directed linguistic attention from a singular focus on the results of language contact to include study of the contexts of language use. Studies of 'Black English' have demonstrated that the structural and functional patterns in the speech of African Americans reflect African linguistic and cultural heritage (Turner 1949 is the classic work on the subject). And the work of Labov et al. (1968) shows that the African American dialect of New York has distinct rules of its own and is not, as has been the common misconception, a mass of random errors committed by African Americans trying to speak 'English.'

This orientation to dialect study also follows the earlier tradition of American structural linguistic analysis developed by Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, and their students, in which the collection and analysis of language data in its cultural context are an integral and primary feature of achieving cross-cultural understanding (Boas 1966 [1911], Sapir 1929, Whorf [see Carroll 1956], and Lee 1944). Reference is made to the perspective of Boas and his students in early American structuralist tradition that, simply put, languages reflect the world views of their speakers. It is therefore assumed in this study that the Spanish which has been influenced by the indigenous Aymara language of the Bolivian and Peruvian altiplano may well exhibit linguistic expression of the Aymara world view.<sup>4</sup> The orientation of linguistic

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<sup>4</sup>The work was carried out in areas which are traditionally and currently home of the Aymara culture, as described in Chapter III.

relativity theory, initiated in the U.S. by Boas, Sapir, Lee and Whorf, thus provides further basis for the contextual approach to dialect description.

### Spanish Dialectology

In the literature on Spanish dialectology, there are, broadly speaking, two approaches to dialect variation. The first is the approach of the prescriptivists (sometimes referred to as normativists), who generally aim to combat deviations from some standard in the (primarily) pedagogical tradition. The prescriptivist approach has been a serious trend and actually represents a third view regarding the *source* of language variation. That is, rather than focusing on the question of systemic or nonsystemic sources of language variation, prescriptivists maintain that *languages* do not vary—they remain the same or they decay. Therefore a *dialect*, in this view, is merely an imperfect attempt to speak a real language. The structural (descriptivist) approach, in contrast, has attempted to provide adequate analyses of the language patterns of daily use and is located in the tradition of linguistic inquiry described above. The best of these studies have combined research in systemic and extra-linguistic sources of dialect variation (cf., for example, Martin 1978 and 1985).

Studies of Spanish dialects have been most commonly carried out (until very recently) within the framework of the debate over the future of the Spanish language. Major Spanish scholars—Rufino José Cuervo, Max Leopold Wagner, R. M. Pidal, Dámaso Alonso and Angel Rosenblat, to name a few (cf. Lope Blanch 1968: 106-108)—have struggled to determine whether Spanish would remain a 'unified' language (the optimistic view), or whether it would fragment due to 'corrupting influences' and eventually disintegrate into mutually unintelligible dialects (the pessimistic view). The primary threads of the arguments, which are detailed by Lope Blanch (1968), are these:

On the pessimists' side, the targets are the corrupting influences from other (primarily indigenous) languages, and habits of speech which are due to lack of schooling or to the generally profligate behavior of some of the native speakers. The optimists, however, cite a variety of internal (to the language) and external forces which constitute unifying elements, such as the urbanization of rural speech, or, theoretically, the predominance of langue over parole. Whether optimist or pessimist on this question, the primary motivation for concern of such studies has of course been the recognition that American Spanish (and the language in general) is hardly characterized by the monolithic uniformity which many believed it to have.

Much of this debate was carried during in the late nineteenth century and through the first half of the twentieth. According to Lope Blanch, the optimists tended to hold sway during the latter part of this period. More recently, the general thrust of concern has been not quite the defense of the language from 'contamination and decay,' but the assurance of a general unification and the elimination of significant differences—this by the creation of academies and through education (Craddock 1973). It is not clear, however, just how in practice the more moderate position differs from the older 'pessimist' view.

The discussions outlined above are the concern primarily of the prescriptivists' approach to language variation. In the process of evaluating dialect research it is clear that much of their debate misses the vitality and flexibility that is the very nature of language behavior everywhere. Also, the questions raised by prescriptivists, regarding what is essentially described as good and bad language, have tended to distort data collection and evaluation. That is, approaching a linguistic variant as though it were merely an error often precludes the investigation of its place in grammatical or usage patterns

in a social context. Spanish dialectology therefore suffers from the prescriptivist heritage in the lack of availability of reliable and extensive data. Escobar (1978), Lope Blanch (1968) and Martin (1978) provide detailed analyses of problems confronting American Spanish dialectology, and all three conclude that "a general work of synthesis is almost impossible for lack of reliable national monographs" (Lope Blanch 1968: 109). There are a few methodological studies which would help provide the basis for establishing dialect zones (Lope Blanch 1968; Rona 1963), such as the proposal by Ureña in 1921 delimiting five dialect zones in the Americas, based primarily on potential influence of various indigenous languages (Lope Blanch 1968; Zamora 1980). Since that time there have been a number of additional proposals (e.g. Zamora 1980), but, as previously indicated, there exists very little of the work necessary to establish dialect geographies for any region in the Americas. Martin (1978) describes the situation in American Spanish dialectology as suffering from the vastness of the geographic region, the diversity of original peninsular Spanish dialects, the lack of information on the many indigenous languages of Latin America, and "notorious examples of faulty scholarship regarding substratum influence" (Martin 1978: 2). Further, as Lope Blanch notes, generalizations, such as Ureña's notion of the homogeneity of American Spanish dialect regions, should be avoided in dialectology because they distort the reality of a language (1968: 156).

Fortunately, there is a recent upsurge of interest by Spanish dialectologists in variation and in the social factors of language change and language contact, and there are signs of a "turnaround" (Martin 1985) in American Spanish dialect research. A tradition of dialect studies has developed in Latin America which breaks away from the more prescriptivist mode and contributes significantly to the available information on varieties

of Latin American Spanish. Both linguistic and sociolinguistic variation in the Spanish of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador have been subjects of interest and research as a corollary of general social science research concern with the social structure and cultural life of the Andean region. Several of these studies are concerned with influence by indigenous languages. Works by Escobar 1972, 1978, and 1984, Anna María Escobar 1986, Hundley 1983, López et al. 1984, Gutiérrez 1984, Justiniano de la Rocha 1976, Albó 1977 and 1980, García and Otheguy 1983, Muysken 1984 and 1985, Minaya and Luján 1982, and Hosokawa 1980, are part of the major trend in Latin American dialectology research. Additionally, some of the work examining linguistic variation in the Spanish of the Andes has been conducted under the auspices of the Aymara Language Materials Program at the University of Florida (Hardman 1981 includes several preliminary studies).

Though very recent studies tend to focus on phonological or lexical variants, there are a number of attempts to describe the grammatical aspects of language as it is used in Spanish America. Again, it seems that the best of these studies consciously rely on analyses of the contexts of language use, including knowledge of the grammatical patterns of indigenous languages where they have come into contact with Spanish. Berk-Seligson, for example, noted that "(c)riteria of an ethnolinguistic sort are equally as necessary in making grammatical analyses as are criteria of the strictly linguistic type" (1983: 151) for her work in discovering the explanation for the use of active and non-active constructions in Costa Rican Spanish.

It is primarily in the Mayan contact regions of México and Guatemala, in the Andean nations of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and to a certain extent, in Argentina and in Chile, that recent dialect research has focused on determining the effect of contact with the indigenous languages. Though the

work remains uneven in the care taken to understand both the contact languages and the historical (peninsular) roots of the Spanish of the region, there are some exemplary studies. Some recent research on language contact in the Andes has contributed to dialect theory in specific areas. Based on Jakobson (as cited in Cassano 1982), and Weinreich (1979 [1953]), it has been often assumed that a language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its tendencies of development. However, as phonological research by Cassano on Spanish-Mayan contact in the Yucatan indicates, the only discernible interference restrictions for that language contact area are those which are limited to the structure of the *interfering* system. The work by Laprade (1981), Martín (1977 and 1981) and Hardman-de-Bautista (1982), which indicates an evidentials category from Aymara having gone into Spanish, supports Cassano's revision of the notion of the structural limitations of interference phenomena. No linguistic legerdemain will produce a grammatical category of evidentials in 'standard' Spanish, though it is present in the Spanish of the Andes.

The linguistic situation in the Andes is both complicated and enriched by the continuous contact with very vital indigenous languages, so that one may speak, in many instances, of both substratum and adstratum<sup>5</sup> influence of the same language family, if not of the same language. The findings of preliminary research are intriguing in their implications of the extent of indigenous language influence in this area. For example, Muysken (1985) reports that, while Spanish has influenced Quechua only superficially (at the lexical level, and with virtually no phonological impact), Quechua has changed Spanish at a deeper level (grammatical and semantic distinctions).

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<sup>5</sup>influencing language which is contemporary and in contact with the influence-receiving language.

As noted above, the research of Laprade (1976), Martín (1981a, b) and Hardman-de-Bautista (1982) indicate functional use patterns in Bolivian Andean Spanish in the direction of the Aymara evidentials category of data source (obligatorily marked in the Aymara language), as well as Aymara time orientations and visible-not visible distinctions. Hardman-de-Bautista suggests that the grammatical influences, which are more difficult to access in borrowing than either the lexicon or the phonology, reflect the "much more intense and intimate linguistic association than that implied by the relatively simple borrowing of words" (1982: 149). It is possible that future dialect research based on a sound knowledge of indigenous languages in contact with Spanish will produce similar findings regarding indigenous influence beyond lexical and phonological features in other areas of the Americas.

Cerrón-Palomino (1972) regards the general tendency of language change in the Spanish of the Central Andean region, under conditions of 400 years of intimate contact, as a process of creolization rather than dialectal variation. However, as Muysken (1985) and Laprade (1981) point out, a genuine creole would show greatly reduced or absent morphology and complete syntactic restructuring, whereas the morphology, and most of the syntax, of Spanish in the area is largely intact. This appears to be the case throughout Hispanic America; Spanish creoles are rare (Holm 1988 and 1989).

In a broad survey of the available information on American Spanish dialects, certain general dialectal features stand out as being fairly common: a tremendous flexibility in the clitic pronoun system and in the gender/number agreement systems (adjective/article-noun, noun-verb); a broad tendency to utilize pleonastic constructions; marked increase in gerund usage. Since contrastive data and information on source of variation (language contact/historical antecedent) are often missing from dialect

studies, it usually is not possible to establish systematic trends. Of the general features indicated above, there is considerable variety in their occurrence throughout Hispanic America. For example, *leísmo* and *loísmo* both occur in Ecuador, as characteristic styles in different regions of the country (García and Otheguy 1983; Muysken 1984). The Spanish of the Jaqi-Aru and Quechua areas reflects some of the general tendencies indicated above for American Spanish. Laprade suggests that Andean dialects in general appear to share many common features in pronunciation and syntax, and that the (central—southern) Quechua-Jaqi-Aru contact areas may represent a single dialect region for certain features within American Spanish (1981).

The Spanish of the altiplano area appears to be particularly distinctive in the incorporation of data-source marking as a function of standard Spanish verb forms (Hardman-de-Bautista 1982; Laprade 1981—a feature which led to the current research. Muysken (1984) also notes the widespread use of dizque and its variants, 'it is said', 'X says/said', to indicate non-personal knowledge of information in the Spanish of Quechua areas. Laprade (1981) suggests that this phenomenon may reflect the pre-conquest influence of Jaqi linguistic categories on Quechua. The grammatical process of suffixation, which carries a heavy functional load in Aymara, appears also to have penetrated the Spanish of the La Paz area in terms of frequency, distribution and function of certain standard Spanish forms (Laprade 1981).<sup>6</sup> But it is the creative use of standard Spanish forms to adapt the language to the demands of data-source marking which are obligatory for Jaqi speakers that appears to be the most distinctive feature of Altiplano Spanish.

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<sup>6</sup>The Jaqi area Spanish use of *nomás*, *pues*, *pero* and *siempre* as post-positive particles, functioning (roughly speaking) as a limitative (and an emphaticizer or a softener), a politive, an objector, and an emphatic modifier, respectively (Laprade 1981), parallel the functional loads of particular Aymara suffixes.



### Organization of the Dissertation

The following chapter focuses on the historical and social contexts which have given rise to the language patterns discussed in this dissertation. The chapter also serves to describe the setting for the research, therefore it precedes the description of the methodology used in the study, which is given in Chapter III. Descriptions of the linguistic consultants who participated in the research are included in Chapter III, and their narratives, from which much of the data used in the study are drawn, are contained in the appendices.

Chapter IV begins the report of this research on the Altiplano Spanish dialect with a description of the phonological systems of both monolingual and bilingual speakers. Although this research was concerned with morphology and syntax, the decision was made to incorporate information from earlier research in the area of phonology in order to provide a more complete description of the dialect. Likewise, Chapters V through VII, which outline the grammatical system of Altiplano Spanish, also contain information from previous, related research, for purposes of gathering in one document the available information on the subject. Chapter V describes the morphology and syntax of verb phrase constituents in Altiplano Spanish. Particular attention is directed to the selection of certain verb tenses to express the category of evidentials which has come into the dialect from the substrate Aymara language. This feature is pervasive throughout the target area, is common to all speakers, and is so unique to this variety of Spanish that alone it would set apart the altiplano as a distinct dialect area. The morphology and syntax of noun phrase constituents are described in Chapter VI; and the more complex constructions—beyond the noun or verb phrase level—are considered in Chapter VII.

The question of substrate influence on Altiplano Spanish is considered in Chapter VIII. This chapter may be more controversial than the others, for substrate influence is rarely subject to confirmation. The chapter sets forth the contention that it is primarily in the area of the use of an evidentials system that there is direct influence from the Aymara substrate. Other areas of influence are probably less direct, involving reinforcement by the substrate of existing patterns in the language. These areas of influence are determined by examining parallel structures and/or functions which exist in both Aymara and Altiplano Spanish.

The final chapter summarizes the results and contributions of this research, and poses additional research questions. Most of the speech data obtained in the study were recorded and transcribed, and are reproduced in Appendices II-XI. Appendix I contains samples of written data which were used in the research as information relating to speech data.

## CHAPTER II

### ETHNOLINGUISTIC HISTORY

This chapter provides an examination of the social and historical contexts surrounding the use of indigenous and imperial languages in the south-central Andean highlands of Peru and Bolivia. An analysis of the historical contexts of linguistic patterns is necessary for a thorough-going treatment of virtually any language question in the Andes given the social, cultural, and linguistic complexity that exists there. Information from a variety of disciplines—including anthropology, sociology, archeology, history, as well as linguistics—has proven useful in abstracting the probable, basic outlines of language use patterns from early, pre-Incaic periods to the present. The basic patterns reveal a remarkable persistence of indigenous linguistic and cultural identities in the face of attempts at social destructureation by Hispanic forces since in the Conquest.

The historical epochs utilized below for purposes of framing the linguistic history are identified as pre-Conquest, Conquest and colonial, and modern. These characterizations are roughly based upon the nature of the historical influences and the type of information available for the period.

#### Pre-Conquest

Investigation of the existence and collapse of pre-horizon and horizon period architectural and agricultural system remains on the Peruvian coast, in intermontane valleys, and in the Andean highlands has radically altered the picture of the ancient Andean populations, and provided a glimpse of

their probable movements and of the dynamics of the relationship between Andean cultures and their habitats. The earliest archeological records indicate that relationship was a complex one. Nearly 3500 years ago there was large-scale irrigation of desert lands for agricultural purposes, settled populations depended upon the sea for stable protein sources, and highland crops, such as tubers and grains, and animals were well on their way to being domesticated (Moseley 1983; Orlove 1985). Some ten to fourteen centuries ago, Andean coastal and highland societies were large, stable polities which utilized massive irrigation projects for agriculture, maintained centralized political administrations, and aggressively expanded political and/or economic influence along the valleys and coast, and throughout the highlands (Moseley 1983 and Orlove 1985). Their architecture and spatial orientation suggest class- and kinship-based social systems, patterns of land use and ownership that we are just now beginning to understand, and a cosmology vastly different from our own (cf. Murra 1984, Moseley 1983, and Urton 1981).

The 'Andean achievement,' as Murra (1984) describes it, of social and technological innovation in response to the climate, geography and geology of the Andes, was a fact by the time of the Inca empire and was therefore being moulded during these earliest centuries of which we have only the barest traces. Although many of the details remain obscure, it is certain that extensive travel and trading have gone on throughout the length and breadth and heights of the Andes for several millenia, as an outstanding characteristic of the forms of cultural and economic adaptation described by Murra and others (Salomon 1982). Both Hardman-de-Bautista (1985a) and Lorandi (as cited in Murra 1985) suggest that the alternation between pan-Andean empires or expansions (horizon periods) and localist cultural developments

(or intermediate periods) is a function of the tensions inherent in necessary access to the variety of widely dispersed ecological zones present in the Andean context.

Such cultural oscillations, and the history of extensive cross-cultural contact, have been among the important contributing factors to language maintenance or decline in the Andes. The social and economic structures and processes—varied economic resources, networks of exchange that crossed the Andes and gave access to varied ecological zones, corporate labor practices and food preservation and storage systems—persisted as principal cultural and economic modes on the coast and in the highlands until shortly after the arrival of the Spaniards. These structures and processes are also reflected in the essential character of indigenous Andean survival during the conquest and republican regimes, and further aid in the explanation of the patterns of language contact and maintenance in the Andes, as indicated below.

Murra (1984 and 1985) was one of the first to grasp the significant accomplishments of Andean cultural ecology. The notion of ecological complementarity, "the simultaneous control by a single ethnic group of several geographically dispersed ecological tiers" (Murra 1985: 3), as accounting for the success of the high density populations of the mountain valleys and the altiplano, has been increasingly a focus of his work for more than 20 years. Murra distinguishes three distinct steps in the Andean success story: (1) the development of highly productive, high altitude cultigens and agricultural production in a vertical archipelago arrangement; (2) the "domestication of the cold" (1984: 122), through which massive food production and long-term storage could be accomplished; and (3) the social, political and economic institutions which emerged out of the first two, and which are characterized by exchange and reciprocity (1984). Contributions

such as Murra's to Andean anthropology provide a picture of the Andes across time and space as a place of constant movement of peoples and goods across the highlands, to the valleys and lowlands, in all directions, and in which that movement is part of an essential and ingenious economic activity.

An examination of Andean cultural developments in the area of the altiplano will provide some understanding of the contact influences prior to Hispanic intrusion. The oscillation between pan-Andean imperial epochs and periods of smaller-scale local development is correlated with the spread of a number of languages with lingua franca status for imperial purposes, and with the development of both dialectal variation and language loss. During the Wari-Tiwanaku horizon speakers of proto-Jaqi-Aru<sup>1</sup> expanded from the Wari site, near modern Ayacucho, into other valleys, west to the coast, and around the lake area of the altiplano, where Pukina may have been the language of the Tiwanaku culture. Thus Jaqi-Aru was being spoken on the altiplano as well as throughout the mountains and in coastal areas as a result of the Wari intrusion, even if it was not the language of the Tiwanaku culture (Hardman and Moseley 1987). It is likely that Jaqi-Aru and Pukina were not the only languages being spoken on the altiplano at the time, and that Jaqi-Aru was a lingua franca useful primarily in economic relations throughout the Andes (Hardman 1985a).

Evidence of a 'mega-Niño' event c. 1000 A. D. (Hardman and Moseley 1987), correlated with a decline in the Wari-Tiwanaku horizon around that time, suggests that a combination of climatic and geographic conditions encouraged that decline, interrupting trade and other relations which would

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<sup>1</sup>Jaqi-Aru is used to indicate those linguistically and culturally related groups and their languages referred to as Jaqi by Hardman-de-Bautista and others, and as Aru by Torero and others. The term Jaqi-Aru is used by the Peruvian Aymara poet José Luís Ayala. In the Aymara language, the term jaqi refers to 'human beings'; aru refers to 'speech, language'.

be the basis of empire. A subsequent period of local expansion lasting some 400 years, during which coastal societies actively engaged in trade were flourishing—Chimu to the north and Chincha on the south coast of modern Peru—involved a movement of Pukina speakers to the Cuzco area (Hardman-de-Bautista 1985a).

The rise of Pukina speakers, specifically the Inca, as imperial powers entailed their spreading the dominant Jaqi-Aru (by now proto-Aymara) for governance purposes for several generations of Inca rule and utilizing their native Pukina for internal court purposes (Hardman-de-Bautista 1985a), although Pukina was still spoken by populations around Lake Titicaca as late as the seventeenth century. Contact during Inca imperial expansion with successful Chincha coastal trading polities resulted in their eventual inclusion into the Inca realm and the switch by the Inca from Jaqi-Aru, the language of a waning power, to Chinchay Quechua, spoken by a rising power, as an imperial language (Hardman-de-Bautista 1985a). The formerly dominant Jaqi-Aru languages were then being divided by the penetration of Chinchay Quechua, so that Aymara, in what is now southern Peru and altiplano Bolivia, was eventually cut off from Jaqaru and Kawki in central Peru (Heath and Laprade 1982).

Among the Incas' many imperial accomplishments was a fairly light-handed approach to the cultural and linguistic identities within their realm (Chang-Rodríguez 1982). Individual languages and cultural patterns were not repressed or replaced by Incan authority, but were utilized and even promoted as effective tools of governance. However, the policy of resettling Inca loyalist communities, mitmaes, in potentially rebellious areas (Dobyns and Doughty 1976) resulted in the establishment of other ethnic/linguistic

groups in former highland Jaqi-Aru strongholds, and many Jaqi-Aru speakers were resettled along the southern Peruvian coast (Heath and Laprade 1982).

By the fifteenth century the Inca had only relatively recently imposed Quechua as the imperial language for governing the large number of linguistically and culturally diverse groups under their control, having previously employed Jaqi-Aru for that purpose. And their imperial policies had otherwise dramatically altered the linguistic situation in their realm: They had spread Jaqi-Aru over a vast area and subsequently did the same with Chinchay Quechua, while at the same time imposing and maintaining linguistic and cultural divisions within those areas in order to assure the success of their realm. Such divisions encouraged the linguistic diversification which led to further separation of original varieties of the Quechua and Jaqi-Aru families.

#### Conquest and Colonial and Republican Periods

Although Jaqi-Aru and Chinchay Quechua had both been employed as lingua francas, the first during the 400-500 year pan-Andean Wari/Tiwanaku horizon and the second during the later period of localist Chinchay coastal development and into Inca expansion, at the time of the conquest there was no long-established lingua franca covering the vast highland areas of the Andes which were under Inca domination. By the sixteenth century, only the Quechua and Jaqi-Aru languages remained as lingua francas for any culturally mixed population in the highlands. Thus, upon their arrival in the mid-sixteenth century, the Spaniards encountered fairly widespread use of the Quechua languages, especially in the region of modern Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, and the Jaqi-Aru language family in central to southern Peru and in highland Bolivia. They also encountered multilingualism involving these major languages as well as a large number of other indigenous



languages which had not been replaced by the recently imposed Quechua. It is apparent that early chroniclers were astonished at the existence of a different language in nearly every intermontane valley (Levillier 1919). The Crown and colonial policies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, examined below, established the Hispanic pattern of relating to the linguistic diversity in the Andes—which has existed in large measure to this day.

Disease, war, repression and exploitation were the consequences to the indigenous populations of the Spanish conquest. Large numbers of local languages were lost with the death of native speakers (Chang-Rodriguez 1982, Hardman-de-Bautista 1985a), as *most* of the population was wiped out in the first few years of the colonial period. As a matter of fact, it is likely that the majority of the population was decimated by smallpox and other diseases—traveling from the Caribbean area faster than the conquistadors to the Andean highlands—before Pizarro ever set foot in Cajamarca or Aleixo García arrived in the area of modern Paraguay. In the quarter century following Pizarro's and García's arrival to the continent, the original Andean population, estimated at around thirty million, dropped by at least more than two-thirds, according to Orlove (1985) and possibly by as much as ninety-five percent according to other estimates (Sánchez-Albornoz 1974). Although highland populations escaped total devastation, Andean coastal societies virtually disappeared due to the combined effects of disease and repression (Murra 1984).

In comparison with the ruthless economic and social policies of the colonists, colonial language policy in practice appears to have been comparatively less harsh (Chang-Rodríguez 1982), mitigated by some desire on the part of the Crown and the religious orders to provide adequate religious instruction to the indigenous peoples and, in some cases, to

alleviate the abuse of power by the colonists. For most of the colonial period, the Spanish Crown espoused a policy of spreading the Castilian language to the indigenous peoples for religious and political reasons, understanding the power of language as "an instrument of empire" (Heath and Laprade 1982). By the late eighteenth century, however, at the time when some colonies were beginning preparations for independence from Spain, it was clear that there had been wide divergence between language policy and practice.

Following the soldiers into the Andes were the religious agents and colonial authorities who gathered the Andean people into villages (reducciones), and the colonists who expropriated Indian lands and labor (Murra 1984; Dobyns and Doughty 1976). The difficult terrain discouraged all colonial forces from venturing far or long from their settlements, while at the same time providing the relative security needed for pockets of resistance by indigenous populations to continue for some time during the colonial and republican periods. While the church's mandated role in the program of castilianización, involving Spanish language instruction to the Andean people, was clearly linked to control over the indigenous population, the religious orders involved in cultural and religious indoctrination rapidly perceived the value of the native languages for instruction (Heath and Laprade 1982). The church's influence over the Spanish Crown in this matter ultimately led the royal court to provide continued political support for religious instruction in the native tongues (Chang-Rodríguez 1982; Wachtel 1977). By the mid-sixteenth century, religious materials were produced in many of these languages, and religious orders were encouraged by the Crown to learn them well, to the extent that clergy could be punished for not doing so (Heath and Laprade 1982). Further, indigenous-Spanish cooperation

against the Inca (such as the decade long Wanka-Spanish alliance [Murra 1984]) probably promoted some bilingualism on both sides.

The somewhat contradictory policies of Castilianization, on one hand, and the utilization of the 'general languages' of the Andes, on the other, evolved into an aspect of the ultimately antagonistic struggle between the interests of the Spanish Crown, which needed to maintain a loyal, productive colony, and of the colonists, who perceived direct control over the resources and lives of the Andean peoples as necessary for their effective domination. The colonists, supported by some of the less enlightened religious community, increasingly demanded a policy of forced Castilianization, arguing the cultural and intellectual benefits to Andean people—not to mention the efficiency of control and economic benefits to empire—of requiring the use of the Spanish language. The Crown's attempt to mitigate the abuse of the native peoples by colonial representatives was persuaded and encouraged by religious activists such as Bartolomé de las Casas and Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Chang-Rodríguez 1982; Levillier 1919). Indigenous writers such as Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (Adorno 1956) not only pleaded the Andean peoples' cause against harsh subjugation, but also encouraged the learning and use of Andean languages.

Another factor in the colonial situation which encouraged the maintenance and spread of the major indigenous languages was the retention of large portions of the Inca administrative structures and personnel—a network in which indigenous languages were crucial (Heath and Laprade 1982). This was true for a short period with Jaqi-Aru, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Jaqi-Aru was losing further ground to Quechua. The Spanish had perceived Inca-imposed Quechua as the major tongue of the Andes (Hardman-de-Bautista 1985a) and it was consequently spread even

further than the Inca had carried it as the Spanish extended their dominion far beyond the original Inca empire (Torero 1972). It should be noted that the originally prestigious Chinchay variety of Quechua fell victim to Spanish conquest (Hardman 1985a), and that it was the Cuzco variety of Quechua, influenced by the originally dominant Jaqi-Aru in the area (Mannheim 1985), which was spread by the Spaniards. Thus, Heath and Laprade (1982) maintain that in spite of an ideology which demanded Castilianization and a strong drive for enforced Spanish usage by the colonial administration, the Spanish Crown's policy to this point may be described as having been more additive than replacive with regard to the Jaqi-Aru, Quechua, and other indigenous languages. On the other hand, Chang-Rodríguez (1982) stresses that an effect of the dual policy was a strengthening of the hegemony of Hispanic language and culture, further distancing the state from the majority (indigenous) population.

Late in the seventeenth century the attitude of the Crown began to change, probably under the considerable pressure of the colonial administration, and use of the indigenous languages began to lose official sanction (Heath and Laprade 1982). However, there were a number of factors within the colonial social milieu which further attenuated the spread of Spanish. For example, there were attitudinal prohibitions against Andean people learning Spanish which belied some of the rhetoric produced by the colonial administration regarding benefits to the Indians in the acquisition of Spanish language and culture. That is, from early in the Conquest period, many of the Hispanic landowners preferred to learn Quechua or Jaqi-Aru rather than provide their indigenous laborers any potential access to the dominating culture by means of their learning Spanish. Painter (1983a) describes a history of active prohibitions in Peru against the use of Spanish by

campesinos, who won the right to Spanish language education only at the cost of many lives.

Mestizaje, primarily resulting from the fact that not many women came with the Spanish soldiers, became a feature of Andean society very early in the conquest (Dobyns and Doughty 1976). And with the development of a mestizo population, bilingualism or multilingualism in Spanish and the indigenous languages quickly became the norm in the highland urban centers, although the rural populations remained largely monolingual. In La Paz, for example, Aymara and sometimes Spanish were the native languages of the urban population until this century (Laprade 1981). Although no other indigenous language in Latin America can claim to have had, or have, since the conquest, the national prestige that Guaraní does in Paraguay (Rubin et al. 1977 and Rubin 1985), for some time during the nineteenth century the Aymara language in La Paz appears to have enjoyed a use and prestige similar to Paraguayan Guaraní. That is, Aymara was the daily language for nearly all classes and ethnic groups, except during formal occasions and for speaking with foreigners, when Spanish was preferred (Laprade 1976: 5). In the former Inca capital of Cuzco, the same conditions may also have applied to Quechua. However, the development of varieties of Aymara and Quechua which are referred to today as 'patrón' Aymara or Quechua attest to the probability that the dominance of the indigenous languages in these contexts was short-lived. The 'patron' varieties were spoken by the upper class mestizo population and were highly influenced by Spanish.

Spanish use in the Andean nations during the colonial era was generally restricted to urban areas. For the native population, the overall functions of Spanish remained limited until fairly recently, initially appearing only superficially in religious contexts, in polite communication

with the Spanish elite, and in interactions within the colonial political bureaucracy (Avila Echazu 1974). Although Spanish was the language of prestige, it was not until the twentieth century that social and economic conditions encouraged an indigenous shift to Spanish, or that stable institutional support for the teaching of Spanish as a second language became a reality anywhere in the highlands (Chang-Rodríguez 1982; Briggs 1985).

At the beginning of this century, indigenous peoples were faced with both limited access to Spanish and a prejudice regarding their own languages and cultures which were labeled as 'inferior and underdeveloped' by the dominant population (Chang-Rodríguez 1982). After nearly four hundred years of marginalization at the hands of the colonists, much of which involved forced castellanización, negative attitudes toward their own languages often resulted in the internalization of these prejudices which linger even today. At the same time, however, social and economic policies continually reinforced reliance on traditional life styles in which indigenous languages were vital. The following section examines the effect of these conflicting forces on the usage of Spanish versus the indigenous languages in the current context.

### Modern Context

The highland Aymara and Quechua speaking groups today make up the majority of Bolivia's nearly seven million people, numbering at least one million and three million respectively. In Peru these groups constitute nearly half of the nation's population of eighteen million (Gray 1987; Impara 1986). In this century there has been increased bilingualism in Spanish for native Jaqi-Aru and Quechua speakers and decreased bilingualism for native Spanish speakers (Laprade 1981; Briggs 1985; Hornberger forthcoming). However, Briggs (1985) is careful to note that the bilingualism of many

Aymara and Quechua speakers who have acquired Spanish may only be incipient or rudimentary (Diebold 1964) in Spanish, and that in fact the absolute numbers of Quechua and Aymara speakers are increasing (cf. also Albó 1980). Given these figures, it is not only the shift to increased Spanish use which should be noted, it is also the fact that the shift is relatively recent after nearly 500 years of Spanish contact,<sup>2</sup> and that a corresponding decline in major indigenous language use does not appear to be occurring.

One of the features of modern highland Andean society involves the correlation of language, social class, and ethnicity. That is, indigenous language and cultural identity are frequently associated with lower social class status in the Andes (Klein 1982; Dobyns and Doughty 1976). However, the fact of indigenous language and cultural maintenance in the south-central Andean highlands cannot be denied. Discussed below are factors which mitigate the generally oppressive consequences of an 'ethnicized' class hierarchy, as seen through an examination of the language use patterns in the area. Available literature suggests some of the mechanisms which may account for these language use patterns on the altiplano. These include language attitudes (Wolfson and Manes 1985), degree of cultural similarity between dominant and subordinate groups (Clyne 1985), the direction of language influence (Brosnahan 1973; Weinreich 1979 [1953]; Haugen 1972), geographic divisions (Weinreich 1979 [1953]), and urbanization (Fishman 1966) and population trends. The modern altiplano setting is examined below in the light of these concepts.

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<sup>2</sup>Until fairly recently, native Spanish speakers in La Paz also knew Aymara, which was used in the market place, in the home with Aymara women as servants and childcare workers, and with Aymara men serving as laborers (Laprade 1981). I have met Paceños who are members of the grandparent generation to whom this description applies.

### Attitudes about Language and Ethnic Group Identity

Language attitudes in multilingual communities are generally considered to be a function of prestige or status factors, so that use of the prestige language often means access to social mobility and thus to higher social status. At the same time, ethnic group identity and language attitude are often highly correlated, so that social factors leading to attempts to preserve ethnic identity also tend to strengthen mother-tongue identification (for example, Wolfson and Manes 1985). In the Andes, these attitudinal factors may indeed be considered important variables in the contact situation. While the Spanish language indeed enjoys prestige and higher social status from the perspective of the dominant culture and the rigid class structure of national society, another value system is operative as well in which indigenous language use plays an important role. Within the total social context of the altiplano, there is a large portion of the population which makes a conscientious choice in the direction of traditional values and lifestyles which incorporate native language usage. At the same time, these individuals are cognizant of the personal advantages to be gained with access to higher social status that may be obtained by Spanish language usage. But the traditional values entail factors which mitigate a wholesale shift to use of Spanish in specific contexts.

Research in cultural and economic anthropology indicates, for example, that the ancient indigenous social and economic patterns continue to exist today in the highlands despite destructuring by the colonial and national governments (Brush 1977; Collins 1981; Hickman and Stuart 1977; Murra 1984; Painter 1983b; Orlove 1985; Carter and Mamani 1982) and a



massive urban migration.<sup>3</sup> The result is that the indigenous peoples are able still to rely on exchange and production from a variety of community, family, or individually held lands in different ecological tiers, diversified economic activity, and strong community and family ties in the face of the not uncommon climatological disasters or fluctuations in the national economies which have historically decimated other indigenous populations.

For example, during the period of the development of export economies, which led to increased interaction between the indigenous peoples and the national authorities, the highland communities and their resources were burdened to the extent that tensions were increased (Orlove 1985). Rather than being drawn into full participation in this aspect of the national economy, the communities' reliance on traditional systems was reinforced. Thus the ancient patterns have encouraged maintenance of strong ethnic and linguistic identities, due to the necessity of relying on them for continued livelihood and community in periods of increased contact with Hispanic language and culture. While increased multilingualism involving Spanish may be supported through Hispanic-indigenous contact in certain contexts, and by the asymmetrical relationship of the languages in question, the disappearance of the major native languages is not one of the correlates of this contact. Rather, the native language ties are strengthened in the Andes through the nature of such contact. Thus, while pressures of status and access to the dominant culture have resulted in a shift to Spanish monolingualism among the mestizo community and increased bilingualism among the indigenous populations in this century (cf. Laprade 1976;

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<sup>3</sup>The phenomenon of urban migration, which has caused upheaval in Latin American societies and economies throughout the last thirty years, characterizes Andean nations as it does much of modern Latin America (see Doughty 1986 and Safa 1986).

Hornberger forthcoming), a conceivable outcome of this situation may be full diglossia, or stable multiple language use (Ferguson 1972 [1959]), as opposed to language loss in any direction.

### Cultural Similarity

Degree of cultural similarity to the dominant group (including common rules of communication), and extent of intermarriage, are also attitude-related factors which have been determined to influence language shift to the dominant language (Clyne 1985). Though intermarriage has been extensive in the Andes (Laprade 1976), I have observed that the marked cultural differences between the Hispanic and indigenous populations which remain are often reflected in language use: Indigenous languages serve needs in traditional contexts; Spanish is used in mestizo and urban contexts. Such linguistic signs of cultural distinction have served as a barrier to language equity in all contexts. That is, while intermarriage and other factors may promote Spanish bilingualism, cultural markers may preserve use of different languages in differing contexts, furthering a trend toward diglossia.

### Direction of Influence

There has been a certain amount of presumption in the language contact literature regarding the direction of influence during language contact. Many scholars view the shift from a subordinate language to one with more "prestige" (Weinreich 1979 [1953]: 7) as an automatic consequence of political and economic subordination of language groups (Hill and Hill 1980). But as suggested by Weinreich (1979 [1953]) and Haugen (1972), it is necessary to look at the conditions which have given rise to both pre- and post-Conquest bilingualism, persistent use of the indigenous languages in a multiplicity of social functions, and strong ethno-linguistic identity, to account for any change in Altiplano use patterns.

In a case study which focuses on the historical imposition of Latin, Greek, Arabic and Turkish as lingua francas, Brosnahan (1973) concludes that language influence typically flows primarily from the politically dominant language. Specifically, Brosnahan states a set of conditions which establish the basis for a shift to the imperial language as the dominant, if not the only, language in use in a society, as in the cases of Latin, Greek and Arabic: first, imposition of a language by military conquest; second, its maintenance by a similar authority; third, the presence of previous multilingualism; and fourth, social advantages conferred by use of the imperial language.

Given that Hispanic conquest of the Andes reflects this pattern, the flow of influence at least primarily from Spanish to the indigenous languages in the Andes might be anticipated. However, Spanish has not been acquired by the population until very recently, and its acquisition is not taking place in a uniform manner. The lack of economic and cultural unity between the national and indigenous populations may be the essential stumbling block—to the perception of Spanish as personally advantageous to many Quechua and Aymara—which has slowed the process of castilianización. Additionally, and perhaps more important, as indicated above there is a long history of denial of indigenous access to the Spanish language by Hispanic authorities.

There is no doubt that military, political, and economic oppression and dominance established Spanish as the prestige language *from a national and Hispanic perspective*. However, outside of strictly economic parameters, the extreme linguistic complexity of the Andes—entailing highly mobile indigenous populations among whom multiple language use ebbs and flows through their history of conquest, migration and cultural effervescence and decline—gives rise to the question: Which language is dominant for whom, and when? I have been in two Peruvian and more Bolivian lacustrine

communities, for example, in which along the modern rural-urban continuum, Aymara would be utilized in nearly all social functions at one end of the continuum, and Spanish, or a combination of the two, at the other end. In the case of Quechua, Hornberger (forthcoming) reports an increase in the contexts for Spanish use in rural altiplano Peruvian communities, but a fairly clear division remaining in terms of the domains of the use of both languages, and an increase in the incidence of Quechua use in urban settings as those populations increase.

Additionally, anecdotal evidence indicates that while few would deny the value of learning to speak Spanish and Spanish literacy, many indigenous language speakers in Bolivia and Peru indicate a preference for learning, apart from literacy or formal education, in the native language (as in cursillos which are given in the home or neighboring communities in rural areas). Such preference reflects a common tendency in multilingual communities for speakers to consider the different languages appropriate to different contexts, or having different functions. Further in this vein, López<sup>4</sup> reports that younger Peruvian students associated with the Peru-Germany Bilingual Education Project (Puno) prefer early school pedagogy in their native Quechua and Aymara languages and are generally more successful learners under that condition—a finding which parallels the successes of bilingual education programs in other countries.

Therefore, while it is likely that all speakers of Quechua or Aymara would recognize the higher social status of Spanish, each linguistic group could rate the two languages independently and with different results. That is, for each group language dominance is just as much a question of

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<sup>4</sup>Luis Enrique López, Universidad del Altiplano, Puno, Peru, personal communication, 1987.

functional utility of the languages involved as it is aptitude for speaking those languages or national norms for language status. The assessment by native speakers of the value of their own languages is considered fundamental to understanding the role of language dominance (Wolfson and Manes 1985).

### Geographic Divisions

Weinreich notes that language contact and mutual influence are frequently restricted in clearcut geographic divisions (1979 [1953]). As indicated above, prior to the conquest Andean history may be seen as composed of waves of pan-Andean empire followed by periods of localist development. Hardman-de-Bautista (1985a) describes these periods of cultural ascendancy and decline in terms of a tension generated in part by the demands of a difficult terrain, amounting to geographic division. This terrain, and the continued use of it by indigenous peoples, is likely to have discouraged the spread of Spanish to the highland indigenous areas outside of urban zones.

### Urbanization and Population Trends: Literacy and National Perspectives

Much of the contact literature considers urbanization, number of non-dominant language speakers using the politically dominant language, and absolute and relative numerical strength of low-status language speakers to be important interactive factors in the maintenance of low status languages or shift to the dominant one (Fishman 1966). Though the creation of large urban centers in the Andean nations did give rise to bastions of Spanish language supremacy, the movement of indigenous peoples between these centers and the highlands has established lively enclaves of indigenous language usage in the urban areas, including publications in those languages. This is true to an extent of Lima, and in major urban centers such as Puno, La

Paz, or Cochabamba, one finds extensive Aymara and/or Quechua use and organizations promoting such use (cf. Anna María Escobar 1986; Godenzzi 1986; Hornberger forthcoming; Albó 1988).

Associated factors which tend to curb castilianización involve the development of orthographies, grammars and literacy in Quechua and Jaqi-Aru. Literary and pedagogical traditions in Jaqi-Aru and Quechua have also developed, as indicated above, subsequent to strong indigenista movements in this century in both Peru and Bolivia. Briggs (1985) provides a review of the bilingual educational efforts in both Peru and Bolivia which, although suggesting an uncertain future for such efforts, details the persistence of attitudes of native speakers and others favoring language maintenance. The numbers are growing in both nations of trained personnel who understand the value of multilingualism and who are convinced of the efficacy and dedicated to the spread of bilingualism in education and to cultural and linguistic maintenance. Often these efforts are associated with cultural and/or political indigenist renaissance movements.

The enduring efforts of these people have paid off at the level of national recognition, at least nominally. Some of the national gains include the achievement of national language status with Spanish for Quechua in Peru in 1975 with the enactment of the Oficialización del Quechua, as an outcome of the national educational reform enacted in 1972 (Impara 1986; Briggs 1985). The use of the Quechua and other vernacular languages for educational purposes became a part of national pedagogical strategy in Peru with the passage of the 1982 Nueva Ley General de Educación (Impara 1986). Such official statements and legal enactments contrast sharply with the policies which existed in Peru from the eighteenth century until the 1970s specifically prohibiting indigenous language use in many areas of life. In

Bolivia there is yet no general law which grants national language status to Aymara and Quechua, although there have been several government resolutions which have been intended to provide support at one level or another to bilingual education programs (Briggs 1985). In 1983 official phonemic alphabets were approved for the indigenous languages in Bolivia, and during my stay there local papers carried articles concerning the possibility of national status being conferred upon the indigenous languages. These are some of the outcomes of a long and often violent history of indigenous struggle to preserve ethnic and linguistic identity in both nations. Aspects of these movements are covered by authors such as Víctor Hugo Cárdenas (1988) and Chang-Rodríguez (1982).

### Summary

While negative Hispanic attitudes toward indigenous languages—which have been heavily internalized by the native speakers—have not altered significantly since the original colonizer view of them as backward and scarcely classifiable as languages, both Quechua and Jaqi-Aru languages remain extraordinarily vital. As indicated above, more than a third of the population of Peru and more than two-thirds of the population of Bolivia today speak either Jaqi-Aru or Quechua as first languages, or one of the other few remaining tongues which are represented by small groups of speakers (Briggs 1985). For the approximately three million Jaqi-Aru speakers<sup>5</sup> strong language identity still exists. This appears to me to be particularly true of the Bolivian altiplano and in and around the city of La Paz. Use of fluent Aymara, for example, creates confidence in and bestows prestige upon the

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<sup>5</sup>Most of these speak Aymara; Kawki is a dying language and Jaqaru speakers currently number around three thousand (Hardman-de-Bautista 1985b).

speaker within the Aymara community.<sup>6</sup> This strong linguistic identity, a very solid cultural base in the La Paz area, relative economic independence from the national economies, and training of native speakers in linguistics and other social sciences have led to a recent revitalization of interest in the learning and use of Aymara, both within the Aymara community and outside of it.

Although demographic trends may indicate an uncertain future for the indigenous languages *per se*, it is perhaps this cultural and linguistic persistence and vitality—a strong commitment to indigenous institutions and lifeways in the face of political and economic subjugation, as well as the centuries of intense contact, primarily in the form of bilingualism—which account for the development of new varieties of Spanish in the area (Escobar 1978; Hardman-de-Bautista 1982; Torero 1972).

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<sup>6</sup>Juan de Dios Yapita Moya, Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, La Paz, personal communication, 1986.



## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

This chapter describes methodological procedures which were utilized for research on the morphology and syntax of Altiplano Spanish, including information on research site, description of informants, and data collection and analysis.

The reporting of the phonology and grammar of Altiplano Spanish (Chapters IV through VII) includes not only data from this research but from work by others as well. It was decided that to include such information, especially from geographic areas or containing structural linguistic data not covered by this study, would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the grammar of Altiplano Spanish. A list of definitions of terms and conventions used in this dissertation follows.

#### Definition of Terms

This study uses the notion of a 'standard' Spanish merely as a point of departure for describing potential dialectal variation. There is no intent to hold up a standard as a model of correct behavior for judging the competence of the speakers of Altiplano Spanish who are fluent in this dialect. Two sources have been used as the basis for references to 'standard' Spanish, hereafter identified by the abbreviation SS: Ramsey's (1966 [1894]) A Textbook of Modern Spanish and Whitley's (1986) Spanish/English Contrasts. The dialect of Altiplano Spanish is hereafter identified by the abbreviation AS.

Additional conventions utilized in this thesis include abbreviations that identify the source of data samples. Those abbreviations are defined in Table 1, which follows. The references indicated in Table 1 appear in the bibliography of this thesis.

Table 1  
Abbreviations for Source of Data Samples

<u>Abbrev.</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Abbrev.</u>	<u>Reference</u>
BEY	Beyersdorff, 1986.	KANII	Kany, 1947.
BRI	Briggs, 1988.	LAPI	Laprade, 1976.
CER	Cerrón-Palomino, 1988.	LAPII	Laprade, 1981.
ESCI	Escobar, 1978.	LOZ	Lozano, 1975.
ESCI	Escobar, 1976.	MEN	Mendoza, 1988.
FRI	Frías, 1980.	MIL	Minaya and Luján, 1982.
GOD	Godenzzi, 1986.	MUY	Muysken, 1984.
GUT	Gutiérrez, 1984.	ROD	Rodríguez, 1982.
HARI	Hardman, 1982.	STRI	This study, information gathered 'informally,' notebook #I
HARII	Hardman et al., 1988.		
HER	Herrero, 1969.	STRII-XI	This study, Appendices II through XI.
KANI	Kany, 1945.		

The data which are reported in Chapters IV through VII are marked with a leading indicator which appears in parentheses, such as (STRII, 12). The letters identify the individual whose research data are being cited, as indicated in the table above. The Roman numerals immediately following

identify the appendix number, in the case of the data gathered for this research; or, in the case of data gathered in other studies, they specify the reference if there is more than one for an individual researcher. The Arabic numbers indicate the line number in the case of my data, or the page number in the case of data from other investigators utilized in this research.

### Research Site

The research was conducted in 1986 and 1987 on the altiplano of Bolivia and Peru, beginning in the city of La Paz, Bolivia, and from there to the communities of Copacabana, Kusijata, Huacuyo and Huatajata, which are located northeast of La Paz on the shores of Lake Titicaca. A minimal amount of research was also conducted in the town of Sorata in Bolivia. In Peru, the community of Chucuito and the town of Puno were locations for research. Additional trips were made to other communities in both Peru and Bolivia, but the data obtained on these trips are largely anecdotal. Figure 1 is a map of the research area.

All of these locations are traditionally and currently strongholds of Aymara language and culture. This is even true for the city of La Paz, which retains a very indigenous flavor except in the southernmost zones of the city which are dominated by wealthy mestizo and foreign white populations. And even there, recent immigrants purchase lands and construct homes in rural areas bordering and surrounding the enclaves of Western urban-style streets which are crowded with large, often luxurious homes, and supermarkets full of products imported from North America and Europe.

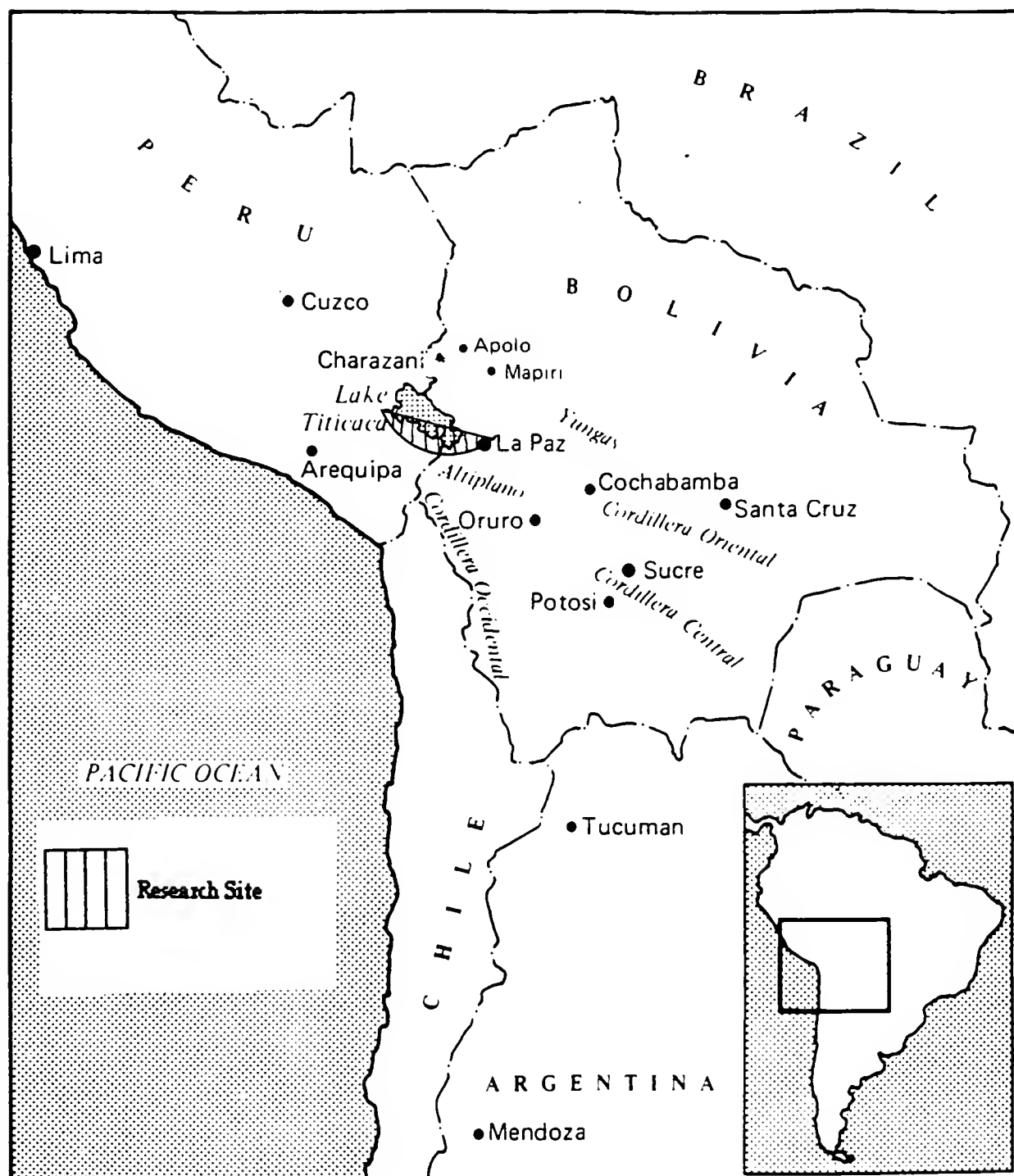


Figure 1: Research Site

### Linguistic Consultants

The people described here are my personal friends, or their friends, in the research area. The section which follows provides the demographic information about these people which is necessary for a determination of whether the linguistic data taken from their speech and described in Chapters IV through VII may indeed be considered dialectal features. That is, this information is intended to demonstrate that the language samples are representative of the speech of segments of the population in general, and are not from marginal or exceptional individuals.

The narratives which were transcribed and utilized for this research are reproduced in Appendices II-XI. The informants who provided these narratives are all life-long residents of the research area indicated above. Several have spent time outside of that area, primarily in other regions of the altiplano dominated by indigenous influence. A few have traveled outside of the altiplano region. The informants were selected on the bases of (1) the personal relationships I developed with them and/or with others in their immediate circle of family and friends; (2) their social positions. The nature of the relationships developed with these informants, or in the case of two informants, with their immediate family and peer group associations, is one of mutual trust and friendship. The process of establishing these relationships is detailed in the description of data gathering. By social position, I am referring to relative position in altiplano society as fairly representative members of that society given the following linguistic and non-linguistic parameters.

### Linguistic Considerations

The research focused on data collected from both monolingual Spanish speakers and bilingual (Aymara-Spanish) speakers: the first, in order to determine the existence of a variety of Spanish as a distinct dialect of Spanish apart from the potential of direct interference due to bilingualism of a strictly bilingual informant population; the second, due to the high incidence of bilingualism in the research area and the necessity for gathering data in a number of differing social and cultural contexts. That is, it would have been possible, but limiting with regard to context, to work only with a monolingual Altiplano Spanish-speaking informant base.

Of the ten informants whose narratives are included as data here, only three are Spanish monolinguals. Of these, each has a rudimentary knowledge of Aymara, including phrases which are useful at the markets, and certain lexical items. They may understand other, often-heard phrases or terms. They are considered monolingual, however, because they cannot produce a full sentence in the Aymara language except in extremely limited contexts, and any speech production in Aymara by them would be lacking in morphological and syntactic complexity. The remaining seven informants are Aymara-Spanish bilinguals who vary considerably in the degree to which either language is used, and in the contexts for its use.

All of the informants are considered to be fluent in the Altiplano Spanish dialect. That is, they are fully capable of utilizing the Spanish language in any context or situation in which they may find themselves, particularly in urban areas in which those language skills are more often called into play. In addition, my informants generally consider themselves to be 'Collas', altiplano dwellers and speakers of the same dialect, as opposed to that of the 'Cambas' of Eastern Bolivia, for example. As Laprade notes, such

subjective evaluations of a language variety by its speakers are considered integral to the definition of that variety (1976: 14). Among the informants are those who are conscious of, and to a certain extent have internalized the prejudices against, the most stigmatized forms of Altiplano Spanish, particularly certain features of pronunciation and elements of syntax which are differentiated by notions of prestige. As the following chapters indicate, however, for most of the informants the internalized social judgements regarding these stigmatized speech forms have not significantly altered the syntax and morphology of their own speech.

The following provides a general assessment of the demographic characteristics of the informants.

### Demographic Considerations

Apart from the factors of monolingualism and bilingualism, various non-linguistic characteristics of the informants and their lives are considered relevant to an understanding of the data gathered for this study, including educational level, occupation, age and sex. The spread of these factors is pertinent to the determination of stability of the linguistic features described in Chapters IV-VII. That is, the generalizability of linguistic patterns across the speech behavior of persons of various age and social groups is a correlate of stability of linguistic patterns, and thus of dialect features (Labov 1984 [1972], Weinreich 1968).

### Social class

Social class refers principally to socioeconomic status, based primarily on occupation and income level. One's primary social environment—the network of associations that constitute the definition of a person's activities with other people—is also considered to be a general indicator of social class. Finally, the location of the home one lives in is another such indicator, for

different social strata live in different and fairly clearly defined areas in the altiplano urban sites.

Of the ten informants who provided recorded narratives, six are employed in fairly stable full time jobs, one is self-employed, and three are students who are also employed from time to time. Job categories range from the service industry to banking, and include rural school teaching, work in rural agricultural development projects, and secretarial work. There is only one informant recorded here who is considered upper-middle class, based upon her occupation, income and the social milieu in which she generally operates; others are middle and working class persons, including campesinos, 'peasants' or 'farmers', again based upon their occupations and income, and the networks of their social relations.

Six of the informants currently reside in large urban areas (Puno or La Paz); two of them live in urban areas at present, but spend a great deal of time in the countryside, in small rural communities; and two reside continuously in small rural communities, although both travel frequently to a small, nearby urban center. Of the six urban dwellers, three continue to have very strong ties with their rural heritage and maintain close contacts with family or friends still residing in those areas.

#### Educational level

Only three of the informants recorded for this research do not have at least a high school diploma. One of those is in her thirties with a high school education only one year short of the diploma; another is a second year high school student. The third is a young man in his thirties who began to earn his living in various ways just after he finished primary school, so that he did not go on to high school.



Although social class and educational level are often correlated, it is not uncommon to find individuals who identified as campesino or lower class in, say, the urban context, but who have had normal school or university training. Thus, six of the informants have had at least two years of university or normal school training beyond high school. All of the informants therefore are literate in Spanish; only two were also literate in Aymara at the time the narratives were recorded.

### Age and sex

Appendices II-XI consist of one narrative from each of five male and five female informants. Their ages at the time of the recordings ranged from fifteen to approximately fifty-five years old. The spread of data across genders and different age groups provides initial information on characteristic dialect patterns.

### Descriptions of Individual Consultants

The following section describes the linguistic consultants for purposes of correlating this information with the linguistic data in the following chapters. Full names are not provided out of respect for their individual privacy. First names are used to identify those with whom I have been on a first name basis. Note that the Roman numerals (II-XI) correspond to the Appendix number for each narrative; these numbers also correspond to the original notebooks in which the transcriptions were made.

(a) The informant for narrative II is MF, a thirty eight-year-old bilingual from the rural community of Quime, Department of La Paz, located in the Cordillera de las Tres Cruces. She has lived in the city of La Paz for thirty years; however, her ties with her home community are very strong. She visits there at least twice a year, associates with others who have immigrated to the city from the community, and is involved from time to

time in promoting events which pertain to the welfare of the people of Quime. Like many urban dwellers with rural ties, she often receives shipments of produce harvested from family-owned lands, and she reciprocates by sending back to Quime goods which are available in the urban areas. MF speaks at times of wanting to migrate back to the community, and tells of others who are doing so—who are returning to family lands once abandoned for the promise of employment in the city, and who are now finding city employment less rewarding than working the land.

MF has worked as a cook for at least fifteen years in French-style restaurants in La Paz. She is currently employed in one which caters to tourists, where she not only cooks but is generally responsible for the smooth operation of the restaurant. The type of labor and income for her work place MF in the lower middle class of La Paz. MF and her two children, ages seven and fifteen, and her brothers, live in the northeast area of the city of La Paz, in a zone populated by a large, Aymara and mestizo working class population and by pockets of middle class neighborhoods. MF's younger brother attends the Universidad Mayor de San Andres, but works with her full-time. MF is just one year short of a high school diploma. The language used at home is Spanish.

The narrative was recorded on a typically slow afternoon at MF's workplace, in the dining room, and later checked there with her under the same conditions.

(b) The informant for narrative III is BA, a twenty five-year-old bilingual from Pacajes who has lived in La Paz for nine years. BA lives with his brother and sister-in-law in Alto La Paz, a totally Aymara area in the northernmost, and highest zone of the city (over twelve thousand feet). BA retains contact with his parents in Pacajes, but seldom leaves the city for that

purpose. He works in the hotel industry; during the time I have known him he has worked as a porter, a waiter, and as a chef. BA finished primary school in the countryside, and high school in the city; after high school he completed his one year military service, and then attended a course in hotel administration in La Paz. BA's income, place of residence and type of work place him firmly in the working class.

BA's narrative was recorded at his workplace, and later checked with him there. The interview was conducted by Zacarías Alavi, a Bolivian school administrator who was finishing a degree in linguistics and native languages at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz. Three other people, myself included, were present during the interview.

(c) Narrative IV was provided by BT, a twenty one-year-old monolingual from the city of La Paz, who studies English and French at the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés and at the time of the recording also worked full-time in an artisanry shop on Calle Sagárnaga. For nearly four years BT has cared for, and at times been the sole support of, her three younger siblings, her mother having left for work in another country. BT's income is meager, and she and her family live in the northernmost section of La Paz, a working class zone. BT's bilingual father died when she was young, and her mother is a Spanish monolingual. She does not appear to be close to other relatives who are bilingual.

The narrative was recorded at the artisanry shop where BT worked, and was later checked there.

(d) The informant for narrative V is AW, a seventeen-year-old bilingual from the rural community of Kusijata, located at about a twenty five minute walk from the urban center of Copacabana on Lake Titicaca. AW was a student at the high school in Copacabana at the time of the recording, and

divided his time between different activities in the two communities: he would help his family with work in the fields as the seasons demanded; and in Copacabana, where he lived for a while with the local rural school teachers, he would also participate in the household chores. AW had never been to La Paz, and had only traveled to nearby communities around the lake.

AW was recorded on a hillside overlooking his home community of Kusijata, the town of Copacabana, and Lake Titicaca. The recording itself was not checked with him, but specific items which were part of the narrative were later discussed with him, again in the community of Kusijata.

(e) Narrative VI is by PH, a thirty five-year-old bilingual from the community of Huatajata, located on the shores of Lake Titicaca on the route from La Paz to Copacabana. PH has been through normal school, worked for a time as a rural school teacher, and he later studied agriculture and animal husbandry in Cochabamba. At the time of the recording he worked as a rural community agricultural technician under the auspices of Radio San Gabriel in La Paz (a Catholic Church-owned Aymara language station), with support provided by a grant from the government of France. PH divided his time between the countryside and the city of La Paz, although he spent most of that time traveling to communities, at their request, to provide mini-courses in his specialty. In this work, he usually used Aymara; Aymara is also used, along with Spanish, at his workplace in La Paz.

In the community of Huatajata, where PH's monolingual Aymara parents also live, PH and his wife and family are constructing a large home just on the shores of the lake. PH's income is higher than the average for one who commutes between the countryside and the city. In the community of Huatajata he would be counted among the more well-to-do of the residents. In the city of La Paz, he stays in a one-room apartment in one of the poorer,

indigenous zones, although given his place of work there and the type of work he does while in the city (program planning, producing educational materials for the countryside, and so forth), he should probably be counted among the lower-middle class.

PH has traveled various times to eastern Bolivia and to Peru in association with his work as an agronomist. The narrative was recorded on a relatively quiet street in the city of La Paz.

(f) AF, a thirty one-year-old bilingual from the community of Tiwanaku, recorded the seventh narrative. AF learned Spanish at an early age in Catholic schools. At the time of the recording, she had lived in the city of La Paz for approximately ten years; however she spends much of her time in the countryside, in work associated with the Aymara women's organization that she helped found (Organización de Mujeres Aymaras de Kollasuyo) and other indigenous organizations. She has also traveled to Peru, Costa Rica and the United States in connection with this work. This year she will be the first mujer de pollera<sup>1</sup> to receive a degree from Universidad Católica, in the field of journalism and communications.

AF manages to exist on very little income, lives in Alto La Paz (an Aymara area), and identifies herself with rural and working class groups. The recording was made in the city of Puno, Peru, while we were on a trip together. AF was being interviewed for a program carried by Radio Onda Azul, a station which broadcasts programs in Aymara and Quechua. The interview was conducted primarily by an announcer of that station.

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<sup>1</sup>The term refers to the Aymara women in the urban areas of Bolivia, principally in La Paz, who continue to wear the traditional colorful, full, multi-layered skirt called the pollera. They are very often business women, supplying, operating, and selling in the city markets, in the kiosks, and in the stores that are located in their barrios.

(g) Narrative VIII was provided by ES, approximately fifty one years of age, a bilingual rural school teacher who has worked in the Bolivian countryside for thirty years. At present he and his wife are primary school teachers, where they use both Aymara and Spanish in their classrooms. Their three children live and work in La Paz, where they are all university students.

The family has a fairly large home in the town of Copacabana, in which they rent out rooms, but they are planning to retire to the community of Kusijata. Although rural school teachers make very little — at times they are not paid their salaries — ES and his wife both are second generation teachers and so enjoy a relatively high standing in the communities in which they serve. The small plots of land which they farm in both Copacabana and Kusijata help to supplement their food supply. While ES's family would be seen as working class in the La Paz milieu, their children are preparing for jobs and potential incomes which would allow them to shift their lifestyles to the middle class.

The recording was made in the rural school in Kusijata, and later checked in ES's home in Copacabana.

(h) The ninth narrative is by VG, a monolingual from Puno, Peru. She is about twenty years old, has lived in Puno always and seldom leaves the town except for trips to surrounding communities. Her father spoke Quechua, Aymara and Spanish; her mother, some Spanish but mainly Aymara. It is likely that VG uses some Aymara with her mother, but in general she uses Spanish—at work, and at home with her husband who is monolingual in Spanish.

VG works full time as a secretary in Puno, and has attended university classes as well as a secretarial training program. In terms of income and location of her home, VG is seen as working class. At work she interacts with

individuals of differing social groups. The recording was made at her workplace, and some checking was done there a few days later.

(i) AC provided narrative X. He is a thirty seven-year-old bilingual who also can speak and understand some Quechua, and is from the community of Crucicuta, Oruro, Bolivia. AC has built a home in the city of La Paz, in an indigenous zone, but travels frequently throughout the Department of La Paz as a collector of artisanry which he sells in the city. The work places AC in the working class, and he did not finish high school.

The recording was made in La Paz, among a group of people who are mutual friends of AC and myself, who made the initial contact with AC on my behalf. I was later able to review some of the information on the recording with him. The transcription was corrected with the assistance of Francisco Mamani, a Peruvian Aymara-Spanish bilingual who also speaks English.

(j) Narrative XI is by AP, a monolingual who is approximately fifty five years old. AP is the sole upper-middle class informant for this study. She is employed in a high-level position at a local bank in La Paz, and lives in the southern zone of the city—generally a wealthy, modern area.

The interview and recording were made in the city of La Paz, at AP's workplace by Tomás Huanca, who is an Aymara-Spanish bilingual sociologist from the area. The questions and comments by Huanca, a university graduate and instructor, are also considered part of the data of this interview. Manuel Mamani, a bilingual university instructor from Arica, Chile, who also speaks English, assisted in the correction of the transcription.

Table 2  
Summary Description of Informants

Informant (by narrative #)	Soc-Econ Class	Language	Educ Level	Age	Sex
II	lower middle	bilingual	PS	38	F
III	working class	bilingual	S	25	M
IV	working class	monolingual	PS	21	F
V	working class	bilingual	S	17	M
VI	lower middle	bilingual	PS	35	M
VII	working class	bilingual	PS	31	F
VIII	middle class	bilingual	PS	51	M
IX	working class	monolingual	PS	20	F
X	working class	trilingual	P	37	M
XI	upper-middle	monolingual	PS	55	F

Key to Educational Level:      S = Secondary or high school education  
    PS = Post secondary, including vocational  
    and university education  
    P = Primary school education

### Data Gathering Processes

Speech data were obtained in a variety of situations, including informant interviews, and elicited and non-elicited (spontaneous) conversations among informants at community meetings and gatherings, in households, at fiestas and ceremonies, in markets and in other work and social environments. The basic linguistic field methods techniques of observation, elicitation, recording and continuous analysis were followed in the study, as described in Pike (1947) and Nida (1946), and which have been elaborated by Hardman and Hamano (1981). The full description of the data gathering methodology employed for this research is given below.



## Formal

### Entering the community

The data sought for this research were not only linguistic structures but also the meanings of those structures, how the language is used in the altiplano context. The essential requirements for obtaining these data in either an urban or rural environment were (1) becoming known in the community as someone who could be approached and who had an interest in the life of the community and (2) developing friendships which would link my identity in a positive way to the community. An assumption which underlies each of these is that evidence of the fieldworker's respect for the target culture is necessary for the gathering of unbiased and accurate data (see Collins and Painter, n.d.). Apart from the need to listen well and sensitively to the things people revealed about themselves, and the way they would use language to do so, and discovering the bounds of appropriate outsider behavior, an element which I found to be completely necessary to meeting these requirements was a large amount of physical effort.

In the cities, fulfilling these requirements initially involved meeting large numbers of people in different settings, which normally meant getting out and doing a tremendous amount of walking on a regular basis, getting to critical locations, becoming familiar with the urban layouts. This then would also involve letting the general research interests for this study be known: interest in Aymara language and culture, in Bolivian or Peruvian national life, and, more specifically, in discovering and explicating the grammar of a stigmatized dialect in order to assist in establishing its legitimacy. It was the former—an interest in and respect for indigenous aspects of national life—which engaged the greatest amount of attention of those who were finally my informants for this study. That language and culture contact was the topic of

my research was also established, but this was generally interpreted in various ways and was not as curious to many people as the question of my overall interest in altiplano culture. This seemed to me to derive from the politically dominant culture's viewpoint regarding indigenous life-ways and languages, which many people, especially in larger urban environments, assimilate and express.

Ultimately, friendships were developed with the people who responded positively to these expressed interests, and primarily in the area of the city where I had established a residence, ate meals, and so on—in the northern area of the city of La Paz; near the train station and the markets in Puno. In the smaller urban centers—Copacabana, Sorata in Bolivia, Chucuito in Peru—I generally had names of individuals which had been provided by contacts in the urban areas. It was not difficult to approach these people directly, then, with requests for assistance in the research, and to receive positive responses.

Obtaining data was a very different kind of exercise in the rural areas than in the cities and towns, although there I often relied on initial contacts which had been made before going into the communities. But in the countryside I found that, though received politely and made to feel quite welcome, generally the people in the rural communities seemed to regard me with greater reserve, and preferred ultimately to keep me at a distance and go on about their lives. The key, for me, to entering their lives more fully was found in (1) use of the Aymara language and (2) work, that is, participating in their labor. The people of the rural communities responded quickly and with openness to attempts to use their native language, however limited and inferior those efforts were. From that point it seemed to follow that I was often invited to help harvest potatoes, prepare ch'uñu (freeze-dried potatoes)

and so on. Volunteering to help in community labor projects was particularly effective, more so if the labor was somewhat rigorous and I could perform adequately. Especially among the women, participating in such work seemed to make me worth consideration, and so appeared to alter community perceptions of my tenure in these areas. From their perspective, since I was willing to be involved in some of the principal labor of their lives, I could be dealt with on normal, human terms. Subjectively, I discovered that the physical labor also prepared me for data collection, by increasing my confidence and energy levels at the same time.

There are some analogies with participating in rural labor to urban activities requiring large outputs of physical energy: accepting invitations to people's homes in the cities, attending functions there which traditionally support community relationships, can very often involve preparation for participation. Much of the preparation may involve activities such as reconnoitering a particular location so that you do not become lost when the event is due, making appropriate purchases of food or drink, and so forth, to take to the hosts, and discussing the events ahead of time with enough people so that you have some sense of your own role in them. And since many people are involved in travel in some way—to rural areas, especially, to obtain agricultural products for personal use or commercial resale, to visit relatives— at times it is possible to accompany friends on such trips, which are often arduous, and provide companionship and assistance to them in some way.

This rather utopian picture of field work has not included descriptions of all the false starts and misunderstandings of language data, the times when tremendous social errors were made out of ignorance, the broken down vehicles or the bureaucratic struggles which are also a part of the experience.

But the aspects of the field experience that I believe are worth stressing in order to have an understanding of the setting for obtaining linguistic data from an anthropological perspective are literally the physical requirements for doing so, and the relationship of these to achieving some cultural awareness. The output of physical energy was directly related in a positive direction to the amount of information that I could take in about the people I was with, and about the language they used. Labor provided a means of discovering how the language means in the contexts of its daily use. For this study, it was both necessary and rewarding.

#### Recording of the narratives

The majority of the samples used in this study, and the narratives in Appendices II through XI, were transcribed from tape recorded interviews carried out by the author or by associates working with the author. The interviews varied in length from approximately five minutes to half an hour or more, and were made with one of the two recorders available, either a Sony or a G.E. minicassette recorder. Most of the informants were each asked questions in the initial section of the interview regarding his or her place of birth and residence, length of time there, occupation, and language(s) spoken; at times this information was not recorded but written down. With some of the informants, this information had been obtained previously, so that it was not repeated for the interview. The remaining part of the interview was more loosely structured, and the content was frequently based upon information from previous conversations with the informants. Usually they were asked to elaborate upon the telling of an event, description of a community, or a family or personal experience they may have had.

All of the informants were aware of the fact that the interviews were part of a research project which involved altiplano language and culture,

although generally attention was directed away from the immediate question of dialectal results of language and culture contact. It was possible to discuss this, however, with most of the informants after the interviews, to give examples of the true grammaticality of forms which have been stigmatized as not grammatical in popular folk etymology.

Finally, it is important to a discussion of methodology to raise the question of the influence of both the interviewer and the interview situation on the style of speech elicited during the interviews. Labov (1984 [1972]) distinguishes between casual and careful speech, and states that "the formal interview itself defines a speech context in which only one speaking style normally occurs, that which we may call *careful speech*" (p. 79). In the interview context, the informant is more conscious of speech production and therefore output is monitored to some degree. In daily life in general, it is recognized that the informants' speech may be quite different, more relaxed and therefore less monitored. Furthermore, it is assumed that a foreigner, even though she may be a friend, is nevertheless not wholly part of the interviewee's cultural and social milieu, and will add elements to the interview which further direct the speaker toward more careful or moderated speech. As a matter of fact, as described in Chapter V, this is known to have occurred and to have provided valuable information regarding prestige factors operating on language style. On the other hand, speech elements most under the control of the speaker are lexicon and phonology, whereas deeper levels of language structure are generally not as readily available to conscious manipulation by the speaker. Inasmuch as this study is primarily concerned with morphology and syntax, it was felt that those levels of language use would more likely follow the general patterns that exist in this dialect of

Spanish, even in the more careful speech generated by the interview and the researcher.

An additional source of data for the study was in less structured situations, in which more 'normal' speech events occurred, reflecting a more casual style. That aspect of data gathering, described below, is considered 'informal', distinct from the structured interview situation.

### Informal

Informal data gathering involved the observation of language use in a variety of contexts, including the public markets, third party conversations, social events such as fiestas, plays, and baptisms, and in work environments. It made use of information gathered 'on the fly', and although it usually was not subject to immediate checking for the research, often this type of information gathering raised valuable questions which were later discussed with informants and other friends and colleagues. Informal data gathering also made use of written as well as spoken sources of language. Linguistic elements noted in newspapers, student papers, and personal letters were considered to be confirmations of the stability of the speech patterns and therefore were preserved for the study.

The information gathered by informal procedures was recorded in a notebook especially reserved for that purpose, and identified in the samples of data as from the source STRI.

### Analysis of Data

It is important to note that both data collection and analysis, as they are conceived here, are interactional (informant-linguist) in nature. Analysis of data proceeded to some extent as the data were collected, in order to have the basis for developing research questions in the field and to be able to check with the assistance of informants and colleagues for both linguistic and

contextual accuracy. While the collection of data was usually by tape recorder, checking was always done by pencil and paper.

Data analyses involved breaking down collected speech data into component morphological and syntactic units, and discovering the patterns that emerged from contrasting and comparing the breakdowns. As the data were collected, they were recorded and filed, and comparisons were made as the files were expanded. This would lead to particular questions about patterns which were becoming apparent in the data; for example, the consistent appearance of the present perfect verb form in the data led to questions regarding use of the preterite: how would you say this in a different situation? is there a difference in ha llegado versus llegó?, and so forth.

An important component of recording the data so that the research questions could emerge was the addition of information regarding the contexts of use of a particular linguistic item: who spoke to whom, when, under what circumstances. I did not do this with all of my data; where recording such information *was* a part of my data collection, I was able to analyze the patterns more thoroughly and with a great deal more confidence.

The following chapters provide the results of the analysis of grammatical and contextual data from this research, together with information from other investigators of the AS dialect.

## CHAPTER IV

### PHONOLOGY

Although this study focused on the morphology and syntax of AS, descriptions of the phonology of AS are reproduced here in order to gather in one document all the available information on the dialect. Phonological data come from research by: Boynton (1981), Gordon (1980, 1982), Justiniano de la Rocha (1976), Laprade (1976), and Pyle (1981) for Bolivian Spanish; and Escobar (1978), Godenzzi (1986), Hundley (1983) and McGourn (1971) for Peruvian Spanish. As may be anticipated, there are differences between monolingual and bilingual speakers of Spanish in their phonological inventories, especially in the vocalic systems. There are also variations in the data reported by different investigators.

Following is a summation of the vowel and consonant systems from the research indicated above, and phonetic charts which describe both monolingual and bilingual speech.



		Bilabial	LabioDental	Dental	Alveolar	PalatoAlveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	- vc	p			t			k̟	k
	+ vc	b			d			g̟	g
Affricate						č			
Fricative	- vc	p̄	f		s	š	ž	x̟	x
	+ vc	β		ð	z		ʒ	ɣ̟	ɣ
Resonants									
Nasal		m	m̄	n̄	n	ɲ	ɳ	ɲ̟	ŋ
Lateral				l̄	l			λ	
Median		w						y	
Flap					r				

		Front	Central	Back
High		i		u
Mid		e, ē, ε		o, ō
Low			a, ā	

Figure 2: Phonetic Chart of Bilingual Altiplano Spanish (Based on Laprade 1976, Pyle 1981, Justiniano 1976, and Escobar 1978).

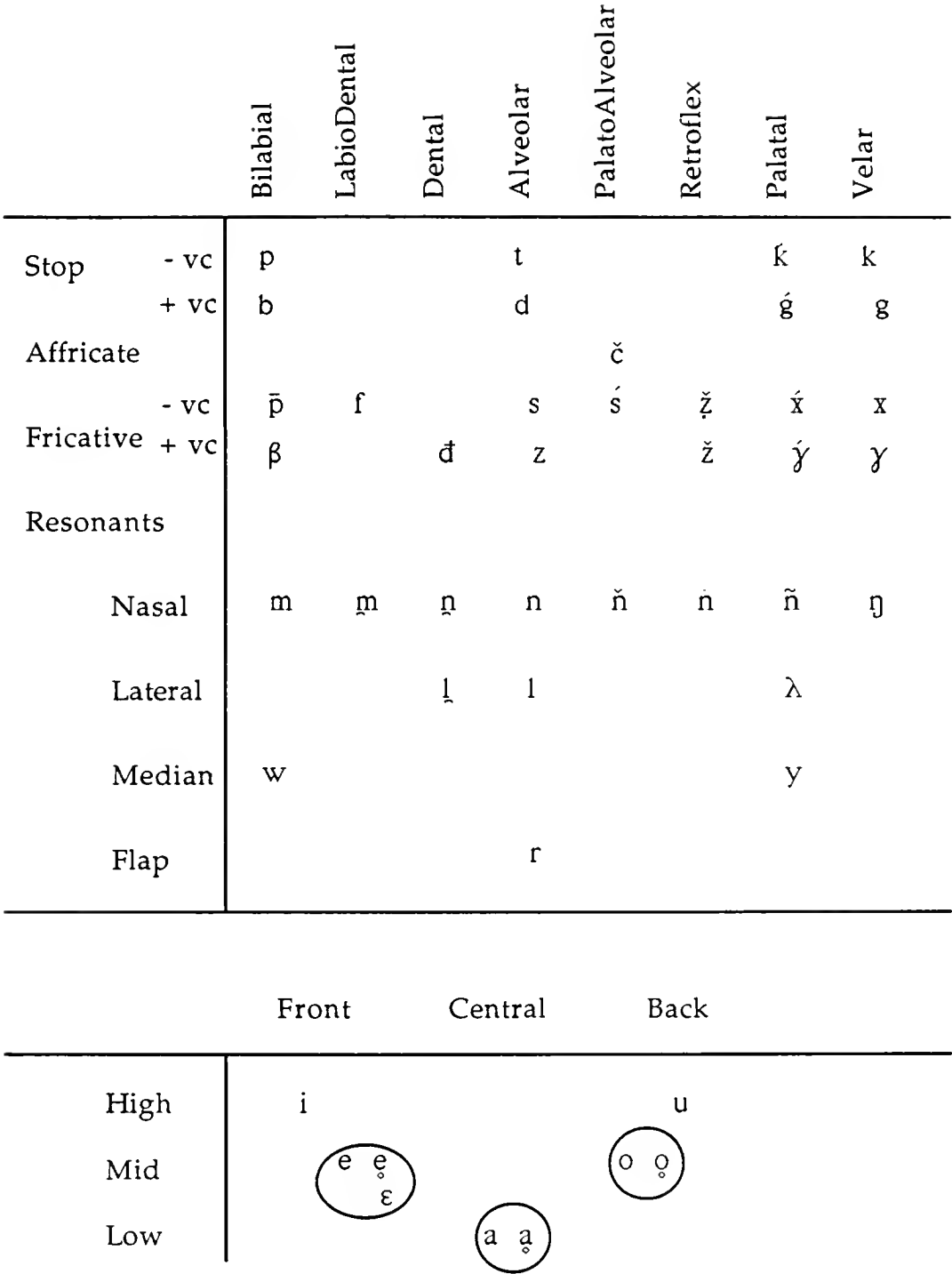


Figure 3: Phonetic Chart of Monolingual Altiplano Spanish (Based on Laprade 1977 and Boynton 1981).

## Phonemes and Allophonic Variation

### Vowels

/i/ high front unrounded:

- [i] high front unrounded, in monolingual speech when stressed and unstressed; in bilingual speech when stressed, as in [síŋkʊ], cinco, 'five'.
- [ɨ] mid high front unrounded, in bilingual speech when stressed, as in [díʃɛ], dice, 's/he says'.
- [e] in bilingual speech, high mid front unrounded, elsewhere.

/e/ mid front unrounded:

- [ɛ̞] voiceless mid front, in monolingual and bilingual speech, when unstressed and in the environment of voiceless consonants, as in [léčɛ̞] leche, 'milk'.
- [ɨ] mid high front unrounded, in bilingual speech when unstressed before /n/, as in [tɨnía], tenía, 's/he had'.
- [ɛ] mid front unrounded, in monolingual speech before [r] and [ʒ] and when not syllable final, as in [tyéʒa], tierra, 'earth', and [ɛstómagɔ], estómago, 'stomach'; in bilingual speech, when stressed, [trɛs], tres, 'three'.
- [e] mid-high front, in monolingual speech when syllable final, and in bilingual speech, when unstressed, as in [nóče], noche, 'night'.

/a/ low central unrounded:

- [a̠] voiceless low central unrounded, when unstressed and in the environment of voiceless consonants, as in [pók̠a̠], poca, 'little'.
- [a] elsewhere, as in [grása], grasa, 'grease', and [afwéra], afuera, 'outside'.

/o/ mid back rounded:

- [ɔ] voiceless mid back rounded, when unstressed and in the environment of voiceless consonants, as in [m účɔ], mucho, 'much'.
- [o] mid back rounded, elsewhere in monolingual speech; in bilingual speech, when stressed, as in [glóbɔ], globo, 'balloon'.
- [ʊ] in bilingual speech, mid high back rounded, elsewhere, as in [blánkʊ], blanco, 'white'.

/u/ high back rounded:

- [u] high back rounded, everywhere in monolingual speech; in bilingual speech, when stressed, as in [plúma], pluma, 'feather'.
- [ʊ] in bilingual speech, mid high back rounded, unstressed, as in [eskʊčáʒ], escuchar, 'to listen'.

### Consonants

/p/ bilabial voiceless unaspirated stop:

- [p] everywhere, as in [pélʊ], pelo, 'hair'.

/t/ alveolar (dental, according to some sources) voiceless unaspirated stop:

- [t] everywhere, as in [trés], tres, 'three'; [frúta], fruta, 'fruit'.

/k/ velar voiceless unaspirated stop:

- [k] palatal voiceless unaspirated stop, before high front vowels, as in [kínwa], quinua, 'quinua'.
- [k] elsewhere, as in [kaβésa], cabeza, 'head'.

/b/ bilabial voiced stop:

- [β] bilabial voiced fricative, occurs after vowels, as in [kʰáβe], llave, 'key'.
- [b] bilabial voiced stop, elsewhere, as in [bómba], bomba, 'pump'.

/d / alveolar (dental, according to some sources) voiced stop:

[ð] alveolar (dental) voiced fricative, intervocalically, as in [peskáðu], pescado, 'fish'.

[d] alveolar (dental) voiced stop, elsewhere, as in [kwándo], cuando, 'when'; and [dwéñu], dueño, 'owner'.

/g / velar voiced stop:

[ɣ] palatalized velar voiced fricative, after a vowel and before a high front vowel, as in [la ɣitáʒa], la guitarra, 'the guitar'.

[ɣ] voiced velar fricative, intervocalically, as in [gryéɣo], griego, 'Greek'.

[g] palatalized velar voiced stop, before high front vowels, [gínɗas], guindas, 'cherries'.

[g] voiced velar stop, elsewhere, as in [póngo], pongo, 'I put, place'.

/č / voiceless alveopalatal affricate:

[č] everywhere, as in [čánčo], chancho, 'pig'.

/f / voiceless labiodental fricative:

[p̥] voiceless bilabial fricative, in free variation with [f], although likely to occur in the environment of bilabials, as in [a p̥wéra], afuera, 'outside'.

[f] voiceless labiodental fricative, elsewhere.

/s / voiceless alveolar fricative:

[z] voiced alveolar fricative, before voiced consonants, as in [mízmo], mismo, 'same'; after voiced consonants before vowels, as in [an zído], han sido, 'they have been'.

[s̺] voiceless palatalized alveolar fricative, before high front vowels, as in [kanśyón], canción, 'song'.

[s] voiceless alveolar fricative, elsewhere.

/ ʒ / voiced retroflex assibilated fricative:

[ʒ] voiced retroflex fricative, everywhere, as in [žésa], reza, 's/he prays', or [pežo], perro, 'dog'.

[ʒ] voiceless retroflex fricative, occurs finally, as in [muxéʒ], mujer, 'woman'; some investigators have it medially, as in [péʒo], perro, 'dog'.

/ x / voiceless velar fricative:

[x̞] palatalized voiceless velar (some investigators place it post velar) fricative, before high front vowels, as in [x̞iráfa], jirafa, 'giraffe'.

[x] voiceless velar fricative, elsewhere, [xaβón], jabón, 'soap'.

/ m / bilabial nasal resonant:

[m] bilabial nasal, everywhere, [sómbrə], sombra, 'shade, shadow'.

/ n / alveolar nasal resonant:

[ŋ] velar nasal, occurs before velars and finally, as in [síŋko], cinco, 'five', and [kurasón], corazon, 'heart'.

[ɲ] dental nasal, before dentals, [kwáɲdo], cuando, 'when'.

[ɲ̞] palatalized retroflex alveolar nasal, before palatalized retroflex consonants, as in [uńžóβle], un roble, 'an oak'.

[m] bilabial nasal, before bilabial consonants, as in [umbáso], un vaso, 'a glass'.

[n] elsewhere.

/ ñ / palatal nasal resonant:

[ɲ] everywhere, as in [pañwélʊ], pañuelo, 'handkerchief'.

/ l / alveolar lateral resonant:

[l] dental lateral, before dental consonants, as in [soldádo], soldado, 'soldier'.

[l] alveolar lateral, elsewhere, as in [léče], leche, 'milk'.

/ʎ/ palatal lateral resonant:

[ʎ] palatal lateral everywhere, [kryóʎu], criollo, 'creole'.

/w/ labial medial resonant:

[w] everywhere, as in [áwtu], auto, 'auto', and [wáwa], wawa, 'baby'.

/y/ palatal medial resonant:

[y] everywhere, [óy], hoy, 'today', and [yélo], hielo, 'ice'.

/r/ alveolar flap

[r] alveolar flap, everywhere, as in [péro], pero, 'but'.

### Vowel System

All investigators report reduction and dropping of unstressed vowels. The phenomenon is a regular feature of altiplano speech in all social contexts and across all social groups: it has been recorded in the speech of all classes, educational levels, ages, and in both sexes, and in both informal and formal speech. However, reduction does not occur with every incidence of unstressed vowel production. In general in AS the environment of voiceless consonants is conducive to the devoicing (/ - ʎ - /) or deleting (/ - Ø - /) of vowels:

$$V \rightarrow ʎ \rightarrow \emptyset / C \_ C.$$

As Gordon (1977) notes, the phenomenon occurs in Bolivian Spanish especially in the environments /t \_ s/ and /s \_ s/, as in [potsí], 'Potosí', and [méss], meses, 'months' (p. 350). Hundley (1983) reports that weakening and deletion of vowels in Cuzqueño speech are favored by a preceding and following consonant that have the same manner and place of articulation, and that voiceless adjacent consonants strongly favor weakening and deletion of vowels. He also has determined that the weakening and deletion of

vowels is socially stratified in Peru, with vowel deletion occurring more frequently among working class speakers, and less frequently among speakers of the middle class, least frequently among the upper middle class.

Vowel reduction is also very common for final vowels following occlusives:

$$V \rightarrow \bar{V} \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \# ,$$

as in [óč] for [óču], ocho, or [álts] for [áltus], altos (Pyle 1981: 192). The effect of lack of stress is quite reduced in moderated or slower speech; that is, the vowels reappear or resurface in speech under those conditions (Laprade 1976). Examples of the phenomenon of vowel reduction/deletion from data gathered for the present research include

- (STRVIII, 12) Son hojas muy [peɣajósas],  
'They are very sticky leaves';
- (STRI, 81) ¿Dónde vas [a] ir mañana?,  
'Where are you going tomorrow?';
- (STRI, 103) "A ya ahorita voy a hacer, no te molestes" me  
[dís],  
"OK right now I'm going to do (it), don't worry,"  
she says to me';
- (STRI, 143) [aksítspɛráme],  
'Wait for me right here!';
- (STRIV, 8) . . . y nosotros teníamos que ver como comer,  
¿[nossyéto]?  
' . . .and we had to see about eating, right?';
- (STRV, 56) Es mi papá [es] trabajando en allá. Sí,



'It's my dad working there, yes.'

In the final example, [es] is considered to be the phonetic realization of /está/, which has undergone final vowel dropping and reduction of the resultant sequence of /tt/ to /t/:

[está traβaxándo]→[est.Ø traβaxándo]→[es.traβaxándo]

Pyle (1981), Justiniano (1976) and McGourn (1972) are particularly concerned with bilingual phonology, and describe the tendency of unstressed vowels in the speech of bilinguals to form "a three-vowel pattern roughly equivalent to the Aymara (and Quechua) vowel system(s)" (Pyle 1981: 192). The three vowel pattern incorporates phones which are variants of the phonemes /i~/e/, /a/ and /u~/o/, and results in items such as [ésu], /éso/, eso, 'that', and [eliksjóɲ], /eleksjóɲ/, elección, 'election'. Again, slower speech reduces the effect of lack of stress, resulting in the production of a vocalic inventory within which the contrasts are more like those of the Spanish five vowel system (Pyle 1981: 192).

McGourn's (1971) analysis indicates that he encountered, in data from the three Aymara-Spanish bilinguals of his study, only one front vowel phoneme, /i/, which has allophones "varying freely from [i] to [e] and intermediate varieties" (p. 178). While the present research implies more than one front vowel phoneme, it is the case that the front vowel phonetic variations are quite broad, as McGourn suggests, and as indicated by Gordon, Pyle, Boynton and Laprade. For example, it is possible to hear variants such as [díɛ], [díɛ], or [déɛ], for /díɛ/, dice, 'X says'; therefore

/i/ → [í], [é], [i]

The following are examples of realizations of certain vowel nuclei in AS:

(STRX, 142)      Este dizque [tinía] llenito la llama,

'This they say was full (of) llamas';

where unstressed /e/ → unstressed [i].

(STRX, 113)      Mi mamá sabía estar ayudándome a mi, [sobír],  
                                  'My mom helped me get on';

where unstressed /u/ → unstressed [o].

(STRVI, 6)      Y [mi] parece no solamente dos tres personas,  
                                  [mi pínse] que han sido un grupo . . . ,  
                                  'And it seems to me not only 2 or 3 people, I  
                                  thought that they were a group . . . '

The latter example, in which the unstressed /e/ of the verb pense is raised to stressed /í/, resulting in [pínse], appears to be anomalous, since unstressed vowels do not tend to change their stress pattern unless there is reduction from a vocalic cluster. Also in this example, the unstressed /e/ of the indirect object pronoun me is raised to [i].

Additional data from this research show a reduction from a glide plus stressed vowel to a single stressed vowel in items such as [βíni], viene, 'X comes', and [síntu], siento, 'I feel':

[yé] → [i]

Laprade notes that certain vowel clusters in Paceño Spanish tend to become an accented vowel followed by a glide, thus breaking the hiatus between the vowels and reducing the number of syllables. Examples from his data include [áwra], ahora, 'now'; [káydo], caído, 'fell', and [léydo], leído, 'read':

[aó] → [áw]

[aí] → [áy]

[eí] → [éy]

One also hears the /e/ of the cluster [eý] opened phonetically to /a/, resulting in [áy], as in [sáys], seis, 'six'. This may well be the result of

attempts by bilingual speakers to clearly distinguish between the sounds [e] and [i], which are allophones of the phoneme /i/ in Aymara:

[éy] → [áy]

Pyle reports that vowel lengthening occurs frequently, and appears to be the phonetic equivalent of vowel + glide for some bilingual speakers, as in [kó:ta], cuota, 'quota' or [b é:nte], veinte, 'twenty':

[wó] → [ó:]

[éy] → [é:]

It is very common for vowel lengthening to be accompanied by certain semantic connotations, as in [nosenó:xa], no se enoja (sic), 'please don't get mad', wherein a lengthened vowel with a slightly raised pitch signals a kind of pleading.

The trends in the vowel system of AS may be summarized as follows: There is a tendency among bilingual speakers to form a three vowel pattern much like the substrate vowel system, in which the front and back vowels are raised or lowered. The phenomenon is more likely to occur when vowels are unstressed, but it is mitigated by careful or slower speech. There is a tendency among both monolingual and bilingual speakers to reduce vowel clusters to single vowels or vowels plus glides, with a consequential reduction in the number of syllables. Additionally, vowel length may be accompanied by certain semantic connotations.

### Consonant System

Those consonant phonemes which have manifested articulations of particular interest as dialectal variants will be discussed here. The phonetic charts given above provide the summary descriptions of the findings indicated in this section.

Among allophones of /s/, Gordon, Pyle, Boynton and Laprade found cases of [z] or [ž] before voiced consonants, although Gordon notes that the phenomenon does not occur "with regularity" in his data (1977: 350). Escobar and Hundley note that /s/ never disappears in highland Peruvian speech, and both Escobar and Justiniano indicate that in the environment before /i/ it acquires palatalization so that acoustically it approaches [š] in highland Peru and Bolivia. I found some speakers for whom /s/ becomes [z] in initial position after a nasal before vowels, as in [an zíðo], han sido, 'they have been'.

Gordon found four allophones of /n/, three of which occur most frequently as assimilations to the following consonantal point of articulation. He also reports that the [ŋ] is found in environments not involving a following velar consonant, such as [eŋ la fórma], 'in the form', or [peŋsámos], 'we think', throughout Bolivia, among all classes and educational levels (1980: 350), although I did not see this reported by other investigators. Laprade reports five allophones of /n/, including a retroflex before a retroflex consonant.

Nearly all of Gordon's informants (99.3%) of all social classes employed /λ/, as in [káλe], calle, and distinguished it "clearly and regularly" from /y/; thus he describes Bolivia, in contrast to the majority of the Hispanic world, as lleísta, in agreement with all other investigators indicated above. Escobar's (1978) description of Peruvian Spanish rests the primary dialectal divisions in Peru — the Andean versus the Ribereño areas — on whether the distinction /λ≠y/ is maintained.

All investigators discuss the use of the voiced apicopalatal assibilated retroflex [ž] in both initial and medial positions, which characterizes highland Bolivian and Peruvian speech, as in [žikésas], riquezas, 'riches',

and [péžɔ], perro, 'dog'. Pyle reports that [ž] becomes [ʒ] in syllable final position, as in [muxéʒ], mujer, 'woman', and Laprade found the voiceless allophone in medial position, as in [péžɔ], perro, 'dog'. In a recent study Gordon (1982) determined that the use of the [ž] allophone on the altiplano has decreased somewhat among men and among those with a higher level of education, and that the usage has spread, especially among women, to lowland Bolivia, perhaps due to the political and economic influence of the altiplano (p. 11).

Justiniano reports that shifts such as [b] to [w], [wáka], vaca, 'cow'; [dr] to [gr], [pagre], padre, 'father'; and [gw] to [w], [wańte], guante, 'glove', are common among bilingual speakers. Of these features, only the [b] to [w] is particularly characteristic of AS; the others are not unusual in other dialects of Spanish.

AS characteristically retains consonants in nearly all environments; as Laprade notes, it has consonantismo firme (1976: 31). The exception is the weakening of intervocalic [ð].

## CHAPTER V

### MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX: VERB PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

#### Inflected Verbs: Data Source, Tense and Mood

This research confirms the existence of an evidentials system in Altiplano Spanish. It appears in the speech of persons all social groups in the La Paz area, among monolinguals and bilinguals, in communities and towns around Lake Titicaca in Bolivia and Peru, and in a variety of contexts including formal and informal situations. Indication of data source is at present a very stable feature of AS, and very likely in itself marks the altiplano as a distinct dialect area. Verb inflections contain in their meanings, besides the SS signification of tense and mood, the category of data source, the evidentials class referred to here as data source. Data source is expressed in the past tense system of AS through the selection of particular tenses which signify that the information being relayed was obtained either through direct personal experience or through some other, indirect, experience, such as having been told or having read about the information. Subtle distinctions regarding the reliability of or responsibility for the message being conveyed are available to speakers of AS by the use of the past tenses which express degrees of personal assurance regarding the source of the message. The future tenses also are influenced by the data source category. One may speak of a future which is more, or less, certain from the speaker's viewpoint by the selection of either the periphrastic or simple future tense.

Another feature of the tense system of AS, related to the data source distinction, is found in reference to time. The division between present and past time, reflected in the use of the present and past tenses of verbs described in the present section, is not always as important as it is in SS. The overriding distinction in the tense system of this dialect of Spanish is data source, rather than time—which is often treated in AS as a relatively unimportant matter, much in the same way that number and gender receive optional treatments in the noun system. The result is that present tense forms are found frequently referring to past time, in a distribution somewhat different from that of the historical present of SS.

In examining the dialectal variations which occur in the verb system used on the altiplano, it should be noted that it is not the forms per se which vary, so that dialectal difference in verb usage may not be as readily apparent as, for example, in phonology. It is the meanings of the forms, the contexts in which they may be used, which have shifted.

The question of Aymara substrate influence on the verb system of AS is discussed in Chapter VIII; the verb system is described below. The description is organized to reflect the data gathered in this research, which demonstrate the primacy of data source distinctions. Tense and mood categories are presented as secondary distinctions to data source, for the reason that these categories frequently occur in this manner in the texts.

### Non-Personal Knowledge

#### Past time

The most intriguing aspect of the altiplano 'tense' system is the selection of Spanish verb tenses to express a category of evidentials which refer to the source of the information that the speaker wishes to convey;

specifically, whether the speaker is relaying the information in the capacity of an eyewitness to the event being referred to.

Previous research has indicated that the pluperfect tense conveys a contrast to the other past tenses, which forms the basis for data source indication. Herminia Martín (1976) has written of the pluperfect/preterite opposition in Paceño Spanish in terms of those tenses signalling that the event being spoken of is known either indirectly or directly (as an eyewitness). Herrero (1969) also describes the pluperfect as non-personal knowledge used in Cochabamba, Bolivia: ". . . these constructions frequently indicate either surprise or that the speaker is not an eyewitness but reporting someone else's experience" (p. 40)<sup>1</sup>. Herrero also notes that this is an enlargement, rather than a replacement, of the sense of the pluperfect as a past of a past. Schumacher (1980) also found the data source distinction in the speech of young people in Puno, Peru.

As Herrero (1969) indicates, in AS the pluperfect tense does occur with the SS meaning of "past of a past", or relevant anteriority to a point in the past, as in

(STRI, 100)

Un extraño estaba robando una mochila de un grupo de pasajeros que habían llegado,

'A stranger was robbing a backpack from a group of tourists who had arrived.'

This tense also frequently indicates, however, that the speaker did not bear personal witness to the event, in the capacity of an eye witness, but has knowledge about the event through another source, which may include having been told or having overheard the information, or having read about

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<sup>1</sup>"En el castellano hablado en Bolivia, esas construcciones indican frecuentemente o sorpresa o que lo que se dice no se sabe en calidad de testigo ocular sino por testimonio de otro."



it. In this context, the pluperfect usually appears in non-sequential verb constructions, for example,

(STRV, 76) Y, en nada habían encontrado trabajo . . . ,

*'And they didn't find any work (I didn't see this happening myself but I was told by someone that they didn't find work) . . . .'*

The meaning of the form in this context then, is pero no me consta, 'but I'm not a witness, I don't personally vouch for this, I didn't see it', and at times an expression such as no me consta, or no lo ví, accompanies the construction.

The context of usage is further amplified to include statements of surprise or unintentional action. For example, A, habías llegado, 'Oh, you've arrived!', someone may say as you enter a room, meaning that the speaker didn't know you were coming, or when, or perhaps had forgotten about it, until the event (your arrival) took place, or perhaps even after the event (not having seen you enter the room, the speaker sees you there sometime later), and is surprised by it. Reflexive expressions such as me había cortado mi dedo, 'I cut my finger (and hadn't realized it), or me había dormido, 'I (accidentally) fell asleep' (Laprade 1976: 58) use the pluperfect to indicate non-volitional action, accidents or unintentional activity.

Further, in conversations, story telling, relating historical or more recent events and so forth, the pluperfect is one form (forms of decir are others; see Chapters VII and VIII) which may be used to signal to the listener or interlocutor that the information which follows comes from some source other than the personal experience of the speaker. The pluperfect serves to frame the discourse, which may then be given as it was originally heard or told, including the use of tenses which convey the original teller's personal knowledge of the event. Such devices are particularly suited to the altiplano



That is, the use of the simple future implies some doubt from the speaker's perspective about whether the event in question will actually take place. This is in contrast to the periphrastic future (va a llegar), discussed in some detail under the personal knowledge categories of verb tenses, which signals certainty on the part of the speaker about the event in question.

For example, if someone says llegaré a las diez, 'I'll arrive at ten o'clock', the message may be interpreted as signalling 'I'll probably be much later than ten o'clock', or 'I may not be there at all'. In another example of this usage, Laprade (1976) reports that the statement

(LAPI, 45)                    . . .las voy a contar por carta que recibirás . . . ,  
                                      ' . . .I'll tell you about them by letter that you  
                                      will receive . . . '

implies "uncertainty as to whether the often untrustworthy mails will deliver the letter" (p. 45), whereas the future formed by the periphrastic ir + a + contar signals certainty about writing a letter.

This selective use of the future tenses was heard during the research for this study as a feature of both monolingual and bilingual speech, and in the lower and middle classes in urban and rural areas. I have also heard the simple future used in much the same manner in which the periphrastic future is used, and therefore consider the influence of data source—in the sense of personal assurance of or commitment to the event—to be a resource in AS future time (or 'unseen') references, but not an obligatory distinction as it is in the 'already seen' (i. e., present and past) tenses.

### Personal Knowledge

#### Past time

Speakers will indicate by using verb tenses other than the pluperfect that they *were* eye witnesses to a particular event. Those tenses include the

preterite, present perfect and the imperfect, as well as the present tense as a past. The SS meanings which these past tenses generally imply, and which continue to form essential or basic elements of the altiplano tense system, have been shifted to encompass the world of meanings which the evidentials category allows, and which reflect the social parameters of altiplano life.

### Present perfect and preterite tenses

The very frequent occurrence of the present perfect (ha llegado) in AS is quite remarkable. As a matter of fact, the present perfect often occurs in contexts in which SS prefers the preterite (llegó):

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| (STRII, 33) | <p><u>Ha sido</u> una sorpresa muy grande cuando fuimos allá en catorce de septiembre,</p> <p>'It was a big surprise when we went there the 14th of September';</p> |
| (STRV, 24)  | <p>Y en esas semanas ya no <u>hemos hecho</u> nadaps,</p> <p>'And during those weeks (some six years ago) we didn't do anything!';</p>                              |
| (STRIX, 11) | <p>Bueno, desde que yo <u>he nacido</u> practicamente yo he vivido en un solo barrio,</p> <p>'Well since I was born I've really lived in only one barrio.'</p>      |

It is not unusual for the present perfect to be used in SS to refer to recent or even distant past events which, for the speaker, may have some bearing on the present. But the orientation suggested by these examples is not quite like that of SS. In AS the present perfect is often used to indicate a punctuated or concluded event, including those which may have occurred long ago. This use of the present perfect to signal completed aspect has also been noted by Schumacher for the speech of young Puneños in Peru (1980: 557) and Laprade for the speech of Paceños in Bolivia (1976: 52-53).

The preterite does remain an option for speakers who wish to indicate concluded events or past events for which the context is closed and not relevant to the present. However the difference between preterite and present perfect in AS is frequently not one of concluded event versus relevant anteriority, respectively, but one of social register. Of the norms which have been or perhaps are being established for 'correct' speech in this part of the Hispanic world, prestige is represented by the preterite form.

The pattern is found in this research in Bolivia and Peru, in urban and rural areas and across all social groups, and has also been reported by other researchers. Mendoza (1988) notes that in Paceño Spanish "the present perfect has almost completely displaced the preterite. The latter form appears only, and not exclusively, in formal situations (in which) the prestige variety (is used)"<sup>4</sup> (p. 20). Godenzzi (1986) also notes social class differences in preterite versus present perfect usage, in the Puno area of Peru. Briefly, he found that the preterite was more frequently used in the discourse of wealthier and urban Puneños; the present perfect predominated in the speech of middle and lower class and rural Puneños, and especially among Quechua or Aymara bilinguals. Thus the preterite is marked as part of the prestige variety of the Spanish of Puno.

As notions of social prestige represented in language are internalized, many speakers of AS appear to shift register from the more familiar, less formal present perfect forms, to the preterite form as the situation is perceived to demand more formality or correctness. In the daily speech of campesinos and middle and lower class urban dwellers in La Paz and

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<sup>4</sup> "El presente perfecto casi ha desplazado completamente al pretérito simple. Esta última forma verbal sólo aparece, y no exclusivamente, en situaciones formales de la variedad culta."

Copacabana (Bolivia) and Puno (Peru), the preterite is relatively infrequent, although again both preterite and present perfect may appear in the same contexts, relative to conception of time and aspect of the past event being spoken about, in which SS prefers the preterite exclusively.

In this research, one of the first clues to the connection between social register and choice of verb tense in speech was in the switch made by a close friend from her nearly preterite-free, informal speech to a present perfect-free style in a tape recorded interview (see Appendix STRIV). After the interview, the friend, who is a university student and a monolingual Spanish speaker from La Paz, and who may be described for these purposes as middle class and "upwardly mobile", stated her preference for the preterite, and her dislike of the campesino-sounding present perfect usage. This young woman's views are not uncommon: Campesino (read: 'Indian') speech is often identified by, mimicked and even ridiculed for frequency of present perfect forms, despite the fact that such usage is common for monolinguals in the middle and upper classes in the urban areas, as well as in the rural areas and among bilinguals. It should be mentioned that such direct stigmatization of the present perfect in speech occurred during this research only in certain contexts — when language was itself a topic, for example. Additional sources regarding these views of social prestige and language behavior were found in television programs, comedy theater in the urban areas, and in observation of daily social interactions in urban and rural areas.

The distinction in social register between these two tenses is not surprising given the prestige factors associated with the preterite — including formality, which is correlated with the SS usage and related popular notions of speaking Spanish correctly — versus the sense of intimacy and greater solidarity, or at least familiarity, demonstrated daily in the usage one hears

everywhere, associated with the present perfect. My own use of present perfect *altiplano* style was at times reinforced by comments such as ¡Ay qué bonito hablas ya como Boliviana ya!, 'Oh how nicely you speak now, like a Boliviana!' The general effect of this was a 'weaning' away from the preterite, and a more frequent use of present perfect in order to present a solidary style of interaction with friends and acquaintances in the area.

In yet another level of interaction with the data source category, there are differences between the preterite and the present perfect in the level of personal support for or substantiation of the message. For some speakers (perhaps for many), the use of the present perfect implies a somewhat stronger personal testimony than the use of the preterite, which for them carries a sense of greater personal distance from the message. For example, the following, spoken by a young Bolivian who wasn't at all sure that he was looking forward to a marriage in his family:

(STRV, 57)                      No, todavía no se casaron, sí,

'Right, they still haven't gotten married,'

where SS would call for todavía no se han casado. Further, Bolivians have expressed to me their feeling that statements in the present perfect can carry more weight, more believability, than those in which preterite is used.<sup>5</sup> The present perfect is preferred, therefore, in AS as a stronger statement of personal knowledge or personal experience than the preterite. And the preterite tends to reduce the level of personal involvement on the part of the speaker in the message. This aspect of the difference between preterite and present perfect appears to be a resource within AS, but not an obligatory distinction; at this point, I do not think that every occurrence of either of

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<sup>5</sup>Juan de Dios Yapita, 1987, personal communication; and others.

these two tenses expresses a level of personal involvement. It is the type of distinction which is very likely tied to contextual appropriateness. Future research will have to clarify the extent to which this resource is exploited across social groups and social contexts.

The essential differences, then, between the two forms are these: where the present perfect is casual and implies intimacy, the preterite is more formal, therefore distant; where the present perfect is identified as Boliviano or altiplano, down-home, and familiar and pretty to some (or in some social contexts), it is identified as feo, 'ugly', Indian, uneducated, by others (or in other social contexts) for whom the preterite is habla culta, polite and correct in linguistic contexts in which the preterite is used in SS.

Although there are speakers for whom the preterite expresses a punctuated or concluded event, and the present perfect, relevant anteriority, the primary contrast in the altiplano past tense system is that between the pluperfect as a non-personal knowledge form, on one hand and the present perfect, the preterite, the imperfect and the present tense as past, as personal knowledge forms, on the other. Additionally, social prestige factors weighing such considerations as a sense of personal distance of the speaker from the message (an echo of the evidentials category) and formality of the situation bear on the choice of preterite versus present perfect in linguistic contexts in which SS would prefer the preterite.

### Imperfect tense

The imperfect tense (llegaba) retains the SS function of expressing continuance, that which was habitual or customary, or to describe qualities or places in the past. It is the tense used to provide the setting and background for tales and stories.



(STRIV, 28-32) Estaba mal de su vista entonces no teníamos dinero. A pan y café estábamos. Yo tenía de mi mamá sus joyas. Vendí todita sus joyas. Y iba uno por uno, porque no llegaba dinero. . . ',

'Her eyesight was bad, so we didn't have any money. We were down to bread and coffee. I had my mom's jewelry. I sold all her jewelry. And it was one by one, because no money arrived. . . '.

The imperfect tense has been relatively unchanged in its usage apart from its role in the AS evidentials system as a personal knowledge form. When the imperfect is used to relate events or conditions which the speaker had not personally witnessed, the discourse is framed in a number of possible ways to indicate that fact. For example, as in the case of the present tense mentioned above, the discourse may begin with some form of decir, as in dizque, 'it is said, they say/said that', or the speaker may utilize the pluperfect tense in an initial statement to signal to the hearer that the information in the discourse to follow is not from the personal experience of the speaker.<sup>6</sup>

#### Present tense as past

The historical present is not uncommon in SS, serving to "give more animation to the recital" (Ramsey 1966: p. 336). Ramsey suggests that the present tense when substituted in this way for imperfect or preterite in SS narrations is done so consistently and is also accompanied by relevant changes in other past tenses: pluperfect to perfect, conditional to future indicative (p. 336).

It is not at all unusual for the present tense to be utilized in AS as a past, but without the sense of immediacy conveyed by the historical present tense. The sense of a distinction between the present and past tense forms is

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<sup>6</sup>See the section on complex constructions in this chapter for a discussion of data source presentation in discourse.

often unimportant in AS, a fact which is reflected in the rather free distribution of present tense and past tense forms to signal past time. Further, the present tense as a past may or may not be accompanied by the concomitant changes in other tenses described by Ramsey.

The following examples are taken from Spanish-Aymara bilingual speakers (urban and rural, lower and middle class, Bolivia and Peru) and show a variety in distribution of the present tense with other past tenses which does not occur in the standard. Note that the glosses are given in English past tense in order to accurately render the sense of the statements, and also to diminish the focus on the present-past distinction which may startle a speaker of non-AS.

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| (STRV, 4)    | Y cuando se murió mi mamá, ya no nosotros, ya, todo no <u>hacemos</u> ,<br><br>'And when my mom died, then we, then, we didn't do everything.'   |
| (STRIII, 22) | El <u>acaba</u> primero y se fue al cuartel,<br><br>'He finished first and went into the Army';  |
| (STRI, 195)  | Dicen en la última etapa . . . que el quechua <u>toma</u> auge, en su importancia, ¿no?, socio-económico y político,<br><br>'They say that in the last stage . . . Quechua got a boost in its socio-economic and political importance';            |
| (STRVI, 2)   | Entonces ellos indican en el tiempo del explotación de los patrones, había familias que <u>apellidan</u> Mamanis, Quispes, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka,<br><br>'So, they indicate that in the era of exploitation by the patrons, there were families whose |

surnames were Mamani, Quispe, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka.'

Use of the present tense as a past extends to the subjunctive, although such usage may be a continuation of the collapse of the subjunctive paradigm that began in Spain. Examples of the subjunctive present as past include:

(STRVIII, 34)      Entonces el campesino estaba así, hasta que se suelde todo,

'So the campesino was like that, until everything mended';

(STRV, 8)          Estaba buscando algo, para que se sane,

'I was looking for something, so that she might recover.'

The present tense form used as a past without a non-personal knowledge qualifier in the discourse (i. e, the unmarked form), such as some form of decir, signals to the hearer that the speaker is a personal witness to the event under discussion. The use of a present tense form as a past tense with a qualifier, such as dicen, 'they say', indicates that the speaker was not an eyewitness to the event, but that the original story is being relayed.

### Present time

Obviously many statements made in the present tense will involve personal knowledge, or personal experience of the event in question. Those that do not will occur in the context of discourse in which the source of the information is made clear; i. e., that the speaker heard, read, etc., that such-and-such is the case, is happening, and so forth.

Apart from considerations of data source function, certain aspects of present tense usage remain to be considered. These involve a marked preference for use of the present progressive tense, and the present tense as a future. Chapter IX discusses these suggestions more fully.

## Future time

Godenzzi (1986) reports that the periphrastic future (va a llegar) occurs with more frequency than the simple future (llegará) in Peru in the middle and lower class. Though the frequency of occurrence of the periphrastic form may in itself be a dialectal indicator, it is also true, as noted by Laprade (1976: 45), that the two future forms do not relay the same message about the future—there is a difference in the contexts of their occurrence both in Peru and in Bolivia.

From the point of view of the speaker of AS, the periphrastic or compound form signals a more certain future, or a stronger intention about the future, than does the simple form. In this sense, the evidentials category can be understood to be influencing the choice of different futures for AS speakers. The more certainty one has about the future, the more a speaker is willing to personally vouch for a future—as one does in choosing the present perfect over the pluperfect to represent past events—then the future tense to be selected will more likely be the periphrastic form.

If, for example, a friend says to me voy a llegar, 'I will arrive', then I know that the event is more likely to take place, or that my friend is more determined to have the event take place, than would be the case if she were to say llegaré, 'I will arrive'. Given the latter, I would be from less concerned to unconcerned about waiting for her arrival.

Likewise, the question

(STRI, 145)            Vas a estar aquí, ¿no?,

'You'll be here, right?',

is less a question as to what will happen than the construction estarás aquí, ¿no?, which also reads 'you'll be here, right?' The periphrastic future



As in SS, future time may also be expressed using the simple present tense form, as in

(STRIX, 72)                   ... entonces una vez que tú llegues acá ya  
veremos como arreglamos eso,  
  
'...so when you get here then we'll see how  
we'll settle that.'

Also note that the present progressive form tends to occur, rather than the simple present tense form, in order to distinguish an activity that is happening in the moment of speaking and is to proceed into the consecutive future moments:

(STRI, 236)                   Ya estamos llegando,  
  
'Now we're arriving',

which was said by a bus driver as the bus entered the section of highway overlooking the city of La Paz.

### Structure of Time in Altiplano Spanish Verbs

In considering the operation of data source distinctions in AS, both Richard Laprade (1976) and Herminia Martín (1976, 1981) note the influence of time perspective in the Aymara culture and language on the Spanish of La Paz. Chapter VIII considers such influences more fully, but it is necessary to sketch the perspective on time in AS in interaction with data source categories, which is suggested by the data gathered for this research, and as described by both Laprade and Martín.

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the distinctions between and compare SS with AS perspectives in the verb tense system.

		Perspective	
		Past	Present (Non-past & Future)
T I M E	past:	pluperfect <i>había llegado</i>	present perfect <i>ha llegado</i>
	present:	preterite <i>llegó</i>	present tense <i>llega</i>
	future:	conditional <i>habría llegado</i>	future tenses <i>llegará</i>

Figure 4: SS

The tense which is used in SS for portraying a situation depends on the time perspective of the speaker — whether the speaker is referring to a present or a past, represented by the horizontal axis in Figure 4. Time (past, present and future) is represented in Figure 4 on a vertical axis. The principle time divisions in SS, in terms of the semantic potential of the forms, are past and non-past (composed of present and future time). That is, there may be overlap of the present and future, as in llega ahora, 'X arrives now' and llega mañana, 'X arrives tomorrow' but not \*llega ayer, 'X arrives yesterday'. The event being described can be located along the vertical time axis in one of three ways given a present or past perspective. If the speaker's orientation is the present moment, or a present perspective (along the horizontal axis), s/he will choose the present tense for events concurrent with that moment. Events that have been or have begun before the present and still claim the perspective of the present are expressed by the present perfect. Future tenses express events which are seen as later with respect to the present moment.

When narrating past events, a speaker usually switches perspective from the present to the past (along the horizontal axis in Figure 4). Simultaneity with respect to some recalled 'present' moment is expressed by the preterite. An event earlier than the recalled point is indicated by another perfect tense, the pluperfect, for it describes what happened before the recalled point, and it usually occurs in sequential time constructions where it represents the more remote of the past events. To complete the system, an event later than the recalled point may be understood as what would happen, and it is expressed by the conditional.<sup>7</sup>

The perspectives—expressed by the past and present/future tenses—are parallel: the perfect tenses express relevant anteriority to a particular present moment; present and preterite indicate simultaneity with the adopted perspective point; future and conditional both represent posteriority with relation to a particular 'present' moment.

In AS the principle orientation that determines the choice of verb tense is not time perspective, as in SS—that is, the perspective of past or non-past—but data source. Figure 5 reflects this by indicating data source orientation of personal or non-personal knowledge on the horizontal axis. Time divisions of past, present and future time are indicated on the vertical axis of Figure 5.

Thus, for example, if the speaker wishes to indicate that the events being described or the information being relayed come from personal knowledge or personal experience of the event, and the reference is to the present moment, then the present tense will be used. A switch to a non-personal knowledge perspective will trigger the inclusion of some additional information in the speaker's discourse indicating the source of the data.

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<sup>7</sup>This interpretation of standard Spanish tense sequence is adapted from that developed by M. Stanley Whitley (1986: 103-134).



		Perspective	
		Non-personal knowledge	Personal knowledge
T I M E	past:	(not visible) pluperfect <i>había llegado</i>	(visible) present perfect <i>ha llegado</i>
		forms of <u>decir</u> + past tenses <i>dice que llegó</i>	preterite <i>llegó</i> imperfect <i>llegaba</i> present as past <i>llega</i>
	present:	forms of <u>decir</u> or other NPK form + present tense <i>dice que llega</i>	present <i>llega</i>
	future:	simple future <i>llegará</i>	periphrastic future <i>va a llegar</i>

Figure 5: AS

Martín has written that the preterite and pluperfect tenses in Paceño Spanish can be distinguished by the fact that they represent a visible past versus a not-visible past, respectively (1976: 128; 1981: 205). She further suggests that this division corresponds to categories of personal and non-personal knowledge as the source of the information being referred to. In fact, the data just described indicate that it is not only the preterite but the present perfect, imperfect and present tense as past which are included in AS as tenses relaying the category of personally experienced past event—that is, a formerly visible or seen past. Further, the use of preterite tense may signal a

weaker tie to or less involvement in a personally experienced event or personal knowledge of an event than the present perfect—a fact represented in Figure 5 by the preterite having been placed somewhat closer to the non-personal knowledge category. This particular distinction is represented more accurately in Figure 6, which excludes the imperfect and present tense as a past from considerations of level of involvement until further research is done.

Non-personal knowledge		Personal knowledge
I N V O L V E M E N T	None:	pluperfect <i>había llegado</i>
	Weak:	preterite <i>llegó</i>
	Strong:	present perfect <i>ha llegado</i>

Figure 6: Level of Involvement Expressed by Verb Tense

Further, the division which exists between past and present is not as strong in AS as it is in SS. Syntactically this is reflected in the rather free distribution of present tense forms used as past, as indicated above. In AS references to past time the exclusive use of past tense forms is simply not as important, or obligatory, as in the standard. Martín's analysis also supports this interpretation of the data: a past which is visible, personally experienced, (versus a non-visible one) can be understood as sharing the characteristic of being visible or experienced with the present, thus creating an additional link

between past and present time which does not exist in any way on a grammatical level in SS.

Richard Laprade suggests that present perfect in AS represents a kind of 'open context' which, in the speaker's view, is still in some way quite relevant to the present; that is, that the perspective on time in Paceño Spanish, which has been influenced by Aymara time perspective, enlarges the scope of the personally experienced past expressed by the present perfect (see Laprade 1976: 47-53). Open context in terms of time orientation may be an important factor in the preference shown for present perfect forms in AS, especially given that open context is a function of the present perfect in the standard. But the present research suggests that data source indication—whether one has personally seen the event in question, and to what extent one is willing to vouch for the information—is overall a more salient category for AS speakers than relevant anteriority (SS present perfect use) versus non-relevant anteriority or concluded event (SS preterite use). A comparison between Figures 4 and 5 illustrates the primary distinctions in the dialectal systems of SS and AS on verb usage, with data source providing the significant options for speakers of AS in verb use, and time perspective providing the options for verb tense selection in SS. A further discussion of data source marking in AS, with examples in longer chunks of discourse, is given in Chapter VII.

#### Indicative versus Subjunctive

There is considerable variation in subjunctive use in AS. The following describes findings from this research and from earlier research on this form and the use patterns typical of AS.

Escobar refers to a "subjunctive displacement" (1978) which occurs with the conditional in Peruvian serrano speech, and Mendoza (1988) describes the same phenomenon in research on Paceño Spanish. For example:

- (ESCI, 111)            Si yo sabría que no viene, no lo esperarí,  
                               'If I knew that he wasn't coming, I wouldn't  
                               wait for him'.  
  
 (MEN, 12)            Si yo realmente tendría más tiempo, haría su  
                               parte también,  
                               'If I really had more time, I would do his share  
                               also.'

Kany (1947) indicated that Bolivian usage frequently involves the imperfect subjunctive in the conclusion of a contrary-to-fact condition, as in

- (KANII, 197)            Si yo fuera hombre, me plantara . . .  
                               'If I were a man, I would x. . .',

which is possible but rare in the standard, which would more likely use

Si yo fuera hombre, me plantaría . . . .

Thus the research by Escobar, Kany and Mendoza shows a tendency toward use of the conditional in contrary-to-fact clauses, replacing the subjunctive in these clauses, and followed by a second conditional statement. Additionally, there is a tendency to use past subjunctive, rather than the conditional, following a contrary to fact clause in which the subjunctive is employed. The patterns are (a) si + conditional, conditional and (b) si + subjunctive, past subjunctive—a type of 'modal harmony'<sup>8</sup>. However, it is not possible to tell from the reported research if these two patterns are used in divergent ways, or if they are simply alternative constructions for representing a particular circumstance.

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<sup>8</sup>The term was suggested by Ronald Kephart, personal communication.

Most of the data gathered for this research involve the more standard construction prefaced by a si, 'if', clause for contrary-to-fact conditions:

(STRXI, 6)            Ahora si hoy día supongamos estuvieran vivos  
Don Elizardo Pérez tanto como Raúl Pérez,  
¿cómo enfrentarían la educación actual?,

'Now, if we were to suppose that today Don  
Elizardo Perez and Raul Perez were alive, how  
would they confront the current educational  
situation?'

According to the present research, use of the subjunctive *is* somewhat unstable in AS among both bilinguals and monolinguals, and among lower and middle class groups. Indicative forms and subjunctive forms may be used in similar contexts. That is, for each example of indicative use that occurs in the research data where SS prefers the subjunctive form, the more standard pattern was also heard at other times for similar uses. The frequency of this variability has not been determined by this research, nor whether the contexts determine the shift in which the subjunctive is used, implying a correlative semantic shift.

For example, SS calls for the subjunctive form after verbal constructions such as querer que, and after esperar que. In the following examples, the first from a Peruvian monolingual from Peru and the second from a bilingual from Bolivia, both speakers employ the indicative after the construction querer que:

(STRIX, 39)            . . . pero, como quieren que yo pertenezco a un  
movimiento . . . ,

' . . . but, since they want me to be a member of  
some movement . . . ';

(STRVII, 6-7) Tenemos objetivos de que integren otras . . .  
Dentro de eso no queremos que estamos  
encerrados puramente aymaras,

'We have objectives that others may join . . .  
given this we don't want to be comprised of  
only Aymara people'.

In the example below a Bolivian bilingual informant does follow the SS pattern:

(STRI, 97) Espero que no caiga en este sentido,  
'I hope that it doesn't fall in this sense.'

The standard also requires the subjunctive after temporal adverbs if future action is being referred to, as in

(STRIX, 50) Ojalá que cuando vengas en enero la puedas  
traer acá para conocerla ¿no?,  
'Let's hope that when you come in January you  
can bring her so that we can get to know her.'

Again, however, the indicative may also be heard in these constructions in AS. The following was used in reference to events (a conference) which were as not yet planned:

(STRI, 136) Quizás invitarla cuando OMAK está haciendo  
un conferencia,  
'Perhaps invite her when (and if) OMAK has a  
seminar.'

In the following example, the pattern of consecutive verb forms is standard, except for the fact that there is no change in subject from one inflected verb to the second inflected verb, which the standard prefers (but does not require) for the use of the subjunctive:

(STRV, 77) . . . y, mi tío había ido también para que trabaje,  
' . . . and, my uncle also went to (find) work',

Given the sense of the utterance, the standard would be

. . . y, mi tío había ido también para trabajar.

More typical yet of AS is the use of the present subjunctive in contexts which are completely in the past, in which past tense forms are used for the indicative mood. For example:

(STRII, 35-36) Hemos hecho llamar a los mandones principalmente para que se reuna. Vinieron y se dieron una sorpresa grande al recibir calaminas y libros,

'We had the authorities called principally so that they would meet. They came and they had a big surprise on receiving the roofing materials and books';

(STRV, 77) Y, está mi tío en ahí, y le había encontrado, y, mi tío había ido también para que trabaje,

'And, my uncle is there, and (my brother) met him, and, my uncle went also to work.'

In the example below, a Bolivian speaker uses both past and present subjunctive forms in the same context:

(STRVII, 5) Entonces el campesino me dijo de que "no me tocara aquí" ni siquiera le avisara al médico, para que le atienda su fractura en una de las rodillas,

'So then the campesino told me "don't touch me here", neither did he want me to advise the doctor, so that he could attend to his knee fracture.'

In the Peruvian data recorded for this research, however, only the past subjunctive forms appear in these contexts:

(STRIX, 18-19) . . . yo he ido a conversar con unos profesores de la universidad, explicarles mi situación, ¿no? Que me permitieran estudiar, que me dejaran

solamente ir a dar los exámenes bajo mi  
responsibilidad de rendir o no rendir,

' . . . I went to talk with some university  
professors, explain to them my situation, see?  
That they permit me to study, that they just  
allow me to take the exams on my own  
responsibility to succeed or not.'

It is possible that the use of present or past subjunctive for representing past time contexts varies with speaker, educational level, and so forth, in Peru. Additionally, as indicated earlier, subjunctive use appears to be in somewhat of a state of flux in AS. Another indication of this may be found in the fact that there are speakers who seem to avoid subjunctive forms in contexts in which SS would prefer their use. And other speakers, who are otherwise fluent in this dialect, seem to stumble over some of the forms, as in

(STRIII, 7) Siempre él ha tenido ese cariño hacia nosotros  
para que nosotros así en esta vida triunfimos  
triunf triunfemos, ¿no?,

'He's always had this affection for us, so that  
we could triumph in this life, no?'

### Person and Number Options

Number 'disagreement' between verbal subject and verb inflection has been described as a characteristic of Andean Spanish. Cerrón-Palomino's (1988) description of Peruvian serrano Spanish includes this phenomenon, as in

(CER, 68) los libros es de él,  
'the books are his',

and Mendoza (1988) notes that number 'discord', which he prefers to consider a "new form of concord" (p. 12) that is substituted for the morphosyntactic



norm, occurs nearly always in popular speech in Paceño Spanish. The examples from his data include:

- (MEN, 12)           Señoras, ustedes de qué zona es, nos decía,  
 "'Señoras, what area are you from?', X said to us.'

The phenomenon was recorded for this research from the speech of monolinguals as well as bilinguals, and in both rural and urban areas throughout the research area. Examples include:

- (STRVII, 21)       Las organizaciones amigas de OMAK tiene que tratar ayudarnos,  
 'The organizational friends of OMAK have to try to help us';
- (STRIV, 26)       Hasta septiembre nos duró los doscientos dólares y luego no, no teníamos,  
 'The two hundred dollars lasted us until September, and then, we didn't have (any)';
- (STRII, 40)       Pero siempre cada autoridad que entraba sacaban multa o alguna otra cosa,  
 'But always every new authority extracted fines or something';
- (STRX, 32)       . . . entons digamos diez cargas que sea para mi ¿no?,  
 '. . . so then, let's say, ten loads that are for me, right?';
- (STRIX, 30)       Ha dado los exámenes y al final he salido lo mejor nota incluso de todos compañeros que bien ha asistido a clases,  
 'He took the exams and ultimately I finished (with) the best grade, including of all the classmates who had attended classes regularly';

(STRVI, 6) Y [mi] parece no solamente dos tres personas,  
[mi pínse] que han sido un grupo de campesinos  
que han levantado allí enfrentarse con el  
patrón,

'And it seems to me not only two or three  
people, I think that it was a group of  
campesinos there who stood up to the patrón';

(STRVIII, 2) Entonces allí era el mes de marzo, cuando las  
lluvias se asecaba más . . . ,

'So then there it was the month of March, when  
the rains are not as heavy . . . .'

Less frequent is the incidence of variation in person marking in AS, and it was heard only in the speech of bilinguals, as in:

(STRX, 90) Yo he entendido que tú me ha dicho que "voy a  
ir sola", no. Sola no,

'I understood that you told me "I'm going to go  
alone", no. Alone, no.'

### Auxiliaries

In addition to haber, 'to have', ser, 'to be', and sometimes tener, 'to have', before past participles, and estar, 'to be', before present and past participles, frequent auxiliary verbs are seguir, 'to continue, follow', ir, 'to go' and andar, 'to go' (in the imperative). They are primarily auxiliaries used with the gerund (see section above). The following are examples:

(STRIX, 54) Y además quiero decirte que la Amalia sigue  
estudiando . . . ,

'And I also want to tell you that Amalia  
continues to study . . .';

(STRI, 131) . . . y van aportando generalmente,

' . . . and they generally are supportive';

(MEN, 22)                    Andá pensando qué te vas a poner para la fiesta,

'Think about what you'll wear to the party.'

### Verb Classes

For convenience, and following Ramsey (1966: XXI), the following types of verbs have been grouped into classes in terms of the manner in which their action is represented: transitive/intransitive; reflexive/non-reflexive; and participative<sup>9</sup>.

### Transitive—Intransitive

Many verbs which in SS require stated objects do not do so in AS; that is, there is a tendency not to make a transitive/intransitive distinction in terms of sentence construction for verbs which are transitive in SS. For example,

(STRVII, 10)                    A nivel de OMAK podemos llevar con más  
énfasis, ¿no?, . . .

'At the level of OMAK we can carry on with  
more strength, see? . . .

or

(STRV, 40)                    . . . ella está agarrando . . . ,

which would likely be in the standard

ella lo tiene,

' . . . she has it . . . '.

The following is a very typical construction, from a letter written by a faculty member of the Universidad Mayor de San Andres in La Paz who speaks Aymara, Spanish and English:

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<sup>9</sup>The term was suggested by José Mendoza of the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz (cf. Mendoza 1988).

(STRI, 217) Hasta ahora no he podido conocerlo a P. H., ya que he buscado varias veces . . . ,

'Until now I haven't been able to meet P.H.,  
though I've looked (for him) several times . . .'

In all cases of intransitive interpretation of verbs which are generally transitive, the verbal complement is understood from the context; i. e., from the situation or some previous reference to the object. Furthermore, transitivity/intransitivity is optional, or variable; that is, a verb may be treated as either, or both, sometimes within the same discourse, as in

(STRVII, 9) Porque ellos también pueden aportar. Porque quizás puedan aportar las ideas que ellos están pensando, ¿no?,

'Because they can contribute also. Because maybe they can bring the ideas that they're thinking of, right?'

In the literature on Andean dialectology much has been made of the fact that the Andean treatment of objects varies tremendously from the standard: from 'object deletion' where the standard would call for a stated object, to 'overmarking of objects' where the standard would delete clitics (see the section on clitic pronouns). It is likely that the options available to Andean speakers regarding treatment of objects in language use, and the variability in verb transitivity, are related to the same linguistic phenomenon. A verb is treated as intransitive, therefore no object is stated, though again one may be understood given the context of discourse.

### Reflexive

In much the same manner that transitive and intransitive verbs often occur in the same contexts, AS also treats reflexivity as an elective category for many uses which would require the reflexive in SS. The same processes appear to be at work: the reflexive pronoun se carried by the verb, which in

the case of true reflexive meaning signals that the object is also the subject of the verb, is optionally indicated in AS. Therefore verbs which carry the reflexive marker se in the standard, may or may not do so in AS, even though the sense of the verb is 'reflexive'. The following are examples of items which occur in the data for Bolivia and Peru, and for which speakers of other dialects seem to prefer a reflexive form.

(STRVIII, 22)      Entonces, eso se ha ido reduciendo, a medida que han, que ha ido moliendo,

'So, that was being reduced, as it was being ground.'

This first example is interesting because it refers to an item (eso) which is treated with both a reflexive and a non-reflexive verb in the same sentence. In both cases eso is both the subject and the true object of the verb: the item was reduced because it had been ground—but only 'reduced' carries the reflexive marker se; 'ground' does not.

(STRVI, 8)      Y bueno, han colocado en ese lugar donde han sido trasladados — Tarabuco — que actualmente es con el mismo nombre de esa comunidad que era Carabuco y ahora actualmente es Tarabuco,

'And well, they settled in that place where they had been relocated — Tarabuco — that really carries the same name of the community 'Carabuco', and is now "Tarabuco".'

(STRIX, 61)      Nunca hace tratar de preocupar por los problemas que podemos tener, yo, A., o cualquiera de nosotros, ¿no?,

'Never (does X) try to concern (herself) with the problems that we may have, me, A., or whoever of us, see?'

(STRVIII, 14) Es una hierba también que hay en la falda de los cerros, que también usa harto para curación para precípitate para solar como yeso, o como para las fracturas,

'It's also an herb that there is in the foothills, that is also used a lot for curing, as a precipitant, for binding like plaster, or like for fractures.'

(STRVI, 2) Entonces, ellos indican en el tiempo del explotación de los patrones, había familias que apellidan Mamanis, Quispes, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka,

'So, they indicate (that) in the time of exploitation by the patrones, there were families that were named Mamani, Quispe, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka.'

(STRVI, 6) Y [mi] parece no solamente dos tres personas, [mi pinse] que han sido un grupo de campesinos que han levantado allí enfrentarse con el patrón,

'And it seems to me not only two, three people, I think that it was a group of campesinos who rose up to confront the patrón.'

### Participative

Participative verbs, as they are being referred to here, carry the set of pronouns known as reflexive pronouns. In a true reflexive use, these pronouns signal that the action of the verb is directed toward the subject of the verb; that is, the subject is also either the direct or indirect object of the verb, as in Ella se vio en el espejo, 'She saw herself in the mirror', or Olga se compró una blusa, 'Olga bought herself a blouse' (examples from Whitley 1986: 175). In the participative use in AS, the pronouns indicate not the

recipient of the activity of the verb, but rather serve to underscore or intensify the involvement of the subject.

Whitley (1986: 174-187) summarizes the "multifaceted" uses of the reflexive in modern Spanish, indicating that the varied and complex occurrences of non-reflexive se + verb are more frequent than those of the true reflexive. And in a discussion of verb functions, Ramsey (1966: 380) notes that in SS intransitive verbs will be made reflexive in order to emphasize the actor's "volition, interest or free will and accord in the case, sometimes implying that the accomplishment of the act calls for a special effort." Whitley, citing both Bello and Ramsey, agrees with them that the addition of reflexivity to some verbs intensifies "specifically the involvement or affect of the subject" (1986: 177). Whitley also provides a list of such verbs, including irse, olvidarse, temerse, entrarse and others, for which the reflexive-like use intensifies the state or action "rather like English particles such as 'up', 'down', 'out', and 'away'" (p. 177).

Therefore the *altiplano* use is not unknown or even unusual in other dialects of Spanish. But the reflexive-like participative is highly characteristic of *altiplano* speech and is therefore set apart here because of the frequency of its occurrence and because its function does not exactly duplicate the true reflexive. The following are examples from this research:

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| (STRI, 66)  | ¿El <u>se</u> ha comprado poncho para su hijo? |
|             | 'He bought a poncho for his son?'              |
| (STRI, 40)  | Yo <u>me</u> como solo,                        |
|             | 'I eat alone';                                 |
| (STRI, 210) | Todo el día yo <u>me</u> he cansado,           |
|             | 'All day I've gotten more tired';              |

- (STRIII, 15) Allí nos cocinábamos los dos y bueno así fue transcurriendo los años pasando y posteriormente nos venimos aquí a La Paz el año setenta y siete,  
 'There the two of us cooked for ourselves and well like that it was passing, the years passing and later we came here to La Paz (in) 1977';
- (STRIII, 59-61) Ellos me recuerdan. Yo también siempre me recuerdo. Claro que no me olvido, ¿no?,  
 'They remember me. I still remember (them), too. Sure I don't forget (them), right?'
- (STRII, 36) Vinieron y se dieron una sorpresa grande al recibir calaminas y libros,  
 'They came and they had a huge surprise (they really saw!, i. e. were really surprised!) on receiving roofing and books';
- (STRV, 24) Tres días nos hemos atrasado en ahí, y en esas semanas ya no hemos hecho nada,  
 'Three days we delayed there, and in those weeks we didn't do anything';
- (STRI, 205) Entonces con esto queremos decir que se valoran a ellos como a un profesional . . . ,  
 'So with this we want to say that they value them as professional(s). . . ';

Familiar command forms may be classed as participative as well, with the addition of the participative pronoun:

- (STRI, 106) Teodora, servíte, serví la comida a mami,  
 'Teodora, serve, serve the meal to mom',
- (STRI, 48) Cométe el almuerzo,  
 'Eat the lunch!'
- (STRI, 49) Llevátelo nomás,



Just take it!

The function of the participative in these constructions is to place stress or emphasis on the second person without being impolite, as you might be if you were to say instead: Tú, lleválo nomás, 'You, just take it!', for example. In other words, the participative forms a type of polite imperative.

Two linguists from the research area, Juan de Dios Yapita M., Director of the Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara, La Paz, and José Mendoza, Chair of the Facultad de Lingüística e Idiomas Nativas at the Universidad Mayor de San Andres, La Paz, who have studied local Spanish, have indicated the preponderance of participatory forms in this variety of Spanish. Mendoza (1988), who has identified the form as a 'participative', remarks that although it is known in other dialects of Spanish, the reflexive-like participative does not occur in those dialects "with the frequency nor the extensiveness with which it is employed in Paceño Spanish"<sup>10</sup>. Mendoza also found that slightly more than one-third of the occurrences of the participative in his data were from the variedad culta. Therefore though the form is more characteristic of speech in the lower socio-economic and educational levels of the population, it is certainly a feature of the speech of the upper classes as well. Examples from the research by Mendoza on the participative include

(MEN, 16)            Me lo he de estar queriendo siempre,  
'I will still want it';

(MEN, 16)            Hoy se van a subir al Alto todos a festejarle,  
'Today everyone's going to go up to the Alto to  
give X a party';

---

<sup>10</sup>"... no con la frecuencia ni la extensión con la que se emplea en el castellano paceño" (1988: 17).

and in the command form:

(MEN, 10)                      Por últimamente, andá compráte de donde  
otras,

'Finally, go buy from someone else.'

Apart from Mendoza's work on the participative, additional clues to its function in AS were given by Llanque<sup>11</sup> who indicated that, for the Aymara, to say of someone murió, indicates that that person died alone. "It is a very sad thing to say of someone." says Llanque. "Among the Aymara we use se murió or se ha muerto." His comments imply that, for some uses of the construction in any case, 'participative' also means 'interactive', or participating in the true sense of the word—with others. It is a nuance which may be more fundamental to the use of the participative than is often apparent.

### Clitic Pronouns

Clitic pronouns are defined as that set of object pronouns which may be attached to an inflected or infinitive verb form. Norms for use of object pronouns vary considerably throughout the Hispanic world. The following provides information on the fundamental use patterns pertaining to these forms on the altiplano, and with the understanding that particular aspects of the patterns may or may not be familiar to speakers of other varieties of Spanish.

The forms are listed in Table 3, below.

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<sup>11</sup>Padre Domingo Llanque Chana, Chucuito, Peru, personal communication, 1987.

Table 3  
AS Object Pronouns

<u>Person, Number, Gender</u>		<u>Indirect Object</u>	<u>Direct Object</u>
1 Sing.		{me}, /me/, /mi/	{me}, /me/
2		{te}, /te/	{te}, /te/
3	Masc	{le}, /le/	{lo}, /lo/
	Fem	{le}, /le/	{la}, /la/, /lo/
	Neut	{le}, /le/	{lo}, /lo/
1 Plural		{nos}, /nos/	{nos}, /nos/
3	Masc	{les}, /les/	{los}, /los/, /lo/
	Fem	{les}, /les/	{las}, /las/, /los/
	Neut	{les}, /les/	{los}, /los/

Altiplano Spanish is primarily loísta, that is, {lo} refers to direct objects and {le} is reserved for indirect objects. This statement may describe the meanings of the relevant morphemes but it scarcely describes the complexity of the altiplano clitic (object pronoun) system in use. The use of clitic pronouns in AS follows several patterns which at least in part appear to be a function of an interaction between the altiplano generalization of lo for the direct object regardless of gender or number, and the option of treating any given verb as either transitive or intransitive, which is also characteristic of the area. Many verbs which require an explicit object in SS will not do so in AS; and, when an object is stated, it may well have a different realization than it would have in the standard in terms of gender and number marking.

Agreement in number may be considered optional for some speakers, so that the morphemes {lo, -s} and {le, -s} may represent either singular or plural, although for many speakers the morphology does reflect the SS categories. Examples of the former case are:

(STRV, 39)            A los adivinos le hemos dicho,  
                              'We told the fortunetellers',

and

(STRIX, 44)            A veces a una mejor les trata . . . ,  
                              'At times the better you treat one . . . ';

also

(ESCI, 111)            No lo vi a sus hermanitos,  
                              'I didn't see X's siblings'.

More common than the number option is the fact that /lo/ does not necessarily have the specific gender reference that it has in SS when it is not used as a neutral pronoun, and therefore for some speakers /la/ is replaced by /lo/ for the direct object, as in:

(STRX, 130)            . . . tiene su llama y lo vende . . . ,  
                              '. . . you have a llama and you sell it . . . ' .

Escobar (1978) and Lozano (1975), in discussions of Peruvian highland Spanish, both refer to this phenomenon as gender 'neutralization', and give the following as examples:

(ESCI, 110)            A mi hija todos lo adoramos,  
                              'We all adore my daughter',

(LOZ, 304)            A María nosotros lo adoramos,  
                              'We adore María'.

Mendoza (1988) proposes that /lo/ be seen as an invariant, gender and number neutral direct object form, the use of which implies a concord system which diverges from the standard.

Escobar (1978) and Lozano (1975) have noted that /lo/ instead of /le/ for the indirect object is also characteristic of Peruvian serrano Spanish, and give the following:

- (ESCI, 110)            A Florencio lo has dicho que no venga,  
                               'You told Florencio not to come'.  
 (LOZ, 301)            El los dio algunas instrucciones,  
                               'He gave them some instructions.'

I have heard the same in Bolivian usage, therefore for some speakers of AS loísmo includes the use of /lo/ as the indirect as well as the direct object.

#### 1. (Ø V<sub>t</sub>) or (cl V<sub>t</sub>)

As indicated in the section on verb classes, it is very common to dispense with object pronouns altogether with transitive verbs. The phenomenon occurs in writing as well as in speech, and is very frequent in both, although less so in writing. It is characteristic of both monolinguals and bilinguals, in urban and rural areas, and among the middle and lower classes. In these cases the retention of the semantic information is contextual, as in the following which was given during a conversation about the death of a young man's mother:

- (STRV, 15)            Ya han enterrado, y no me han dejado ni ver a  
                               mi mamá,  
                               'They buried (her), and they didn't even let me  
                               see my mother.'

Other examples of this phenomenon are:

(STRV, 69) Primeramente he visto yo estudiando, que las incas se habían hecho de piedra, sí, y, como había una piedra más fina, 'piedra pulida' había llamado, de ese se han hecho,

'First I saw studying, that the Incas made (things) for themselves of stone, yes, and, as there was a very fine stone, it was called 'polished stone', they made (things) of that';

(STRI, 103) "A ya ahorita voy a hacer, no te molestes" me dice,

' "Oh yes I'm going to do (it) right now, don't worry", she says to me';

(STRX, 147) . . . siempre en campo necesita pues la gente . . . de camino hacen llegar, ¿no ve? . . .,

'. . . in the countryside the people still need (them; i. e., llamas) . . . on the road they cause (goods) to arrive (i. e, they bring goods), don't you see?'.  
 Various investigators have noted the phenomenon. Kany (1947) provides the following example from Bolivian Spanish, which is still very characteristic of speech in the target area:

(KANII, 195) — Aquí están los medicamentos.  
 — ¿Cómo has traído?,

— 'Here are the medications.  
 — How did you bring them?'

Beyersdorff (1986) has noted the pattern in the literature of Arguedas:

(BEY, 37) Por eso queriendo para turu pukllay,

where the standard is given as

(BEY, 37) Por eso lo queremos para la corrida de toros,  
 'For that reason we want it for the bull fight';

Escobar (1986) provides the following from the speech of Peruvian bilinguals:

(ESCII, 86)

Se dice que los antiguos peruanos utilizaban  
para alimento del ganado,

'It is said that the ancient Peruvians utilized  
(it) as food for animals'.

As the following example illustrates, the clitics may or may not surface in the same utterance. Additionally, the referent, in this case 'a llama', may or may not appear in the same utterance—it makes no difference with regard to the manifestation of the clitic:

(STRX, 49)

. . . entonces cambiamos también con una llama,  
matamos, y lo cambiamos con maiz, así también  
con trigo, ¿no?,

' . . . so also we exchange (it) with a llama (i.e,  
we exchange llamas for other goods), we kill  
(it), and we exchange it for corn, also like that  
for wheat, see? '.

The following are taken from writing samples; the first from a letter written by a Peruvian friend, and the second from an article in Presencia, a daily newspaper in La Paz:

(STRI, 219)

Hace tiempos que no recibo una carta tuya,  
estoy extrañando mucho,

'I haven't received a letter from you in a while,  
I miss (you) a lot';

(STRI, 234)

Porque distribuye Librería XXX,

'Because Librería XXX distributes (it).'

## 2. (N Ø V<sub>t</sub>) or (N cl V<sub>t</sub>)

Second, AS does not require an object pronoun when the nominal object is fronted. In the example below, the fronted object todo in SS would trigger the surfacing of a clitic pronoun:

(STRV, 51)

Sí, todo cocinaba,

'Yes, he cooked everything'.

Escobar (1978) and Lozano (1975) have noted absence of object pronouns when the nominal direct object is left-extraposed in Peruvian highland speech, as in:

- (LOZ, 300)            A Juan conocí,  
                               'I met Juan',  
 (ESCI, 110)            La venta hace su esposa,  
                               'His wife is doing the selling'.

In SS a clitic is obligatory when the word order given above occurs. In AS, one is just as likely to hear hace su esposa, or lo/la hace su esposa, or la venta hace su esposa, all meaning 'his wife is doing the selling'.

### 3. (cl<sub>IO</sub> Ø V<sub>t</sub>) or (cl<sub>IO</sub> cl<sub>DO</sub> V<sub>t</sub>)

Third, when a clitic is used, it tends to be the indirect object pronoun, and there is a concomitant "disinclination" (Kany 1947: 195) to use two object pronouns together, as in

- (STRV, 28)            Ella se ha tejido y se ha perdidops<sup>12</sup>,  
                               'She wove it for herself and she lost it!'

where the standard calls for

Ella se lo ha tejido y después se lo ha perdido . . .

As Kany (1947: 195) indicates, rather than

Se lo agradezco,  
 'I'm grateful to them for it.'

the construction

- (KANII, 195)            Les agradezco

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<sup>12</sup>-ps represents the phonetic realization of the word pues, which often occurs as a postpositive suffix on a variety of word classes. See the discussion of postpositive particles in the section on discourse processes.



is very typical of highland Bolivian Spanish. In each of the instances where the indirect object pronoun is used without the direct object pronoun, the context supplies the reference for the direct object.

#### 4. ([N] V<sub>t</sub>+cl [N])

Double marking of objects with pronouns which do not necessarily agree in gender or number with the referent noun is a fourth option in this dialect. The double marking involves a nominal object preceding or following the verb plus a clitic. From a Bolivian monolingual, upper-middle class informant, the following in which esto is marked twice:

(STRI, 94)                    Esto es importante mencionarlo.

'It is important to mention this',

as well as the following from a bilingual Bolivian rural school teacher:

(STRVIII, 21)            Entonces, el proceso ha constituido (*sic*) en molerlo todo eso,

'So, the process consisted of grinding all of that.'

Additional examples from both written texts and recorded material collected for this research include:

(STRV, 39)                    A los adivinos le hemos dicho,

'We told the diviners',

(STRX, 115)                    . . . ya lo he dejado la llama,

'. . . now I've left (working with) llamas',

(STRI, 224)                    Tú lo tienes la dirección,

'You have the address';

(STRI, 212)                    . . . preferiría no contestar a ninguna pregunta que usted quisiera hacerlo hasta que haya pasado los cinco minutos,

'... X would prefer not to answer any question that you may wish to ask until the five minutes have passed.'

This last example was taken from a written translation of testing instructions originally prepared in English, and translated to Spanish by a university professor from La Paz who also speaks Aymara.

Double marking of objects may also occur within relative clauses which modify a preceding noun, as in:

(STRVI, 16) ... y la pregunta lo que lo he hecho es ... ,

'... and the question that I asked is ... ' ;

(ESCI, 111) Este es el perro que lo mordió a mi hermano.

'This is the dog that bit my brother',

Escobar (1978), Escobar (1986) and Lozano (1975), among others who have studied Peruvian Spanish, and Kany (1947) and Gutiérrez (1984), and others writing on Bolivian Spanish, have all found doubly-marked direct objects.

## 5. (cl V<sub>t</sub> cl)

The direct and indirect object pronouns may also duplicated, as in the constructions

(STRI, 218) Lastimosamente no la he podido conocerla  
quizá esté muy ocupada,

'Unfortunately I haven't been able to meet her,  
maybe she's very busy';

(STRIX, 45) Te estoy hablándotete yo de acá,

'I'm speaking to you from here';

(ESCI, 111) Te voy a preguntartete,

'I'm going to ask you.'

(STRVI, 16) ... y la pregunta lo que lo he hecho es, ¿por qué lo hacen Carabuco?,

'... and the question I asked is, why did they name it Carabuco?'

Kany's 1947 description of the speech of highland populations in the Andean nations remains adequate for much of AS: "a redundant lo is the rule" (p. 195), although a preferred statement would from my point of view would be to indicate that the rule governing object indicators permits additional object marking. And many speakers regardless of educational level, "employ lo regardless of gender or number of the direct object noun" (Kany 1947: 195).

In many cases of such usage in AS, the duplicated object represents a politive overmarking of a human object, such as in the first three examples given above.

### Adverbial

The category of adverbials includes parts of speech which function as adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions (Whitley 1986). The general classification is warranted based on syntactic and lexical considerations. The notion of complemento circunstancial, 'circumstantial (verbal) complement' or adverbial phrase, in Spanish grammar is useful for such classification. "It generally expresses 'el lugar, modo, tiempo, medio, causa o instrumento de la acción verbal'" (ibid.: 206). The forms for adverb, preposition and conjunction are generally constructed using the same base word (as in antes, antes de and antes que) and thus share lexical foundations (ibid.: 201).

Kany (1945 and 1947) has some discussion of forms which are common in Bolivian usage. Other scholars have done more recent work on specific forms and will be cited as the forms are discussed. The list presented here is not intended to be exhaustive, but demonstrates the items which occurred frequently during the research on AS. Laprade (1976) discusses adverbial

forms not noted here which are common in AS but which do not appear in the texts gathered for this research.

en + locative

Adverbial locative phrases such as en aquí, 'here', en ahí, 'there', for the standard aquí and ahí, are extremely common and productive in AS, and occur in all areas and across socio-economic groups, in Bolivia and Peru. The following will serve as examples of this phenomenon:

- (STRX, 48) Allá en adentro algunos también quieren, ¿no? entonces para carne siempre quieren, ¿no?
- 'There further in(to the interior) some want (it) also, see?, so they always want (it) for meat, right?
- (STRI, 114) Salen sábado en la mañanita, en aquí están a las seis de la tarde,
- 'They leave Saturday in the early morning, they're here at six in the afternoon';
- (STRV, 45) Así y, todavía esta casa no estaba techado, esa vez cuando se ha muerto mi mamá — en abajo se ha velado,
- 'Like that and, this house didn't have a roof yet, that time when my mom died — they had the wake for her (in a house) down below';
- (STRV, 77) Y, está mi tío en ahí, y le había encontrado, y, mi tío había ido también para que trabaje,
- 'And, my uncle is there, and X met him (but I didn't see it happen), and, my uncle also went there to work (but I can't personally vouch for that because I can't know my uncle's intentions unless he tells me).'
- (STRV, 56) Es mi papá [es] trabajando en allá, sí,

'It's my dad working there, yes';

(STRI, 32) Yo vivo en aquí,

'I live here.'

The phenomenon of en + locative is well known as a characteristic of Andean Spanish. Herrero (1969) has reported the use of adverbial phrases in Bolivian Spanish, such as está en ahí, 'X is there', and Mendoza (1988) notes that such usage occurs in both el habla popular and el habla culta of La Paz. Puente (1981) also discusses the "redundant" usage of the preposition en for locative expressions. Godenzzi (1986) notes the use of en + adverbial in the speech of native Puneños, across all classes, as in

(GOD, 40) Toda la gente en ahí vivimos. . . ,

'All of us live there. . . '.

#### de as después de

Kany (1947) has noted that constructions such as

(KANII, 200) Te veo de algunos años,

meaning

'Hace algunos años que no te veo,

'I haven't seen you for some years',

contain a reduction from después de to de. He indicates that these constructions are "peculiar to Bolivia" (1947: 200) and are common there.

The form occurs several times in the Bolivian data gathered for this research, in speech and in written form:

(STRI, 133) Has venido de mucho tiempo,

'You've come (after) a long time (i. e, it's been a while since I've seen you)';

(STRI, 221) Para mi una satisfacción bien grande recibir tu carta de tiempo. . . ,

'(It was) a great satisfaction for me to receive your letter (after) a (long) while. . .';

(STRV, 81)

Sí, de cinco meses, así nomás viene, sí,

'Yes, (after) five months (i. e., every five months), just like that he comes, yes';

### a veces

Frequently one hears [ayβésés] or [ayβeś] given as an alternative form for a veces, in Bolivia and Peru, in urban and rural areas, and in the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals:

(STRIV, 9)

Teníamos que quedarnos [ayβésés] en las noches solos nosotros,

'At times we had to remain by ourselves at night';

(STRX, 20)

Entonces . . . [ayβeś] se moría, ¿no? la llama siempre bueno [ayβeś] con enfermedad se muere, ¿no? . . .,

'So . . . at times they died, no?, the llama always, well, at times dies of illness, see? . . .'

### de as por

de is often used where the standard has prepositional por, as in:

(STRII, 29)

. . . pero ninguna personas ya preocupado del pueblo sino han reunido fondos, han recaudado la cantidad de dinero y . . .,

' . . . but no one so concerned about the community (in that way) but they have collected money, have put aside the quantity of money and . . .'

Kany (1947) also cites this use of de:

(KANII, 203)

De eso no más me viene a pegar,

'For this you come to beat me!'

con + second or third person(s)

The prepositional phrase con + second or third person(s), often preceded by the adverbial junto, as in junto con mi hermano or junto + verb + con mi hermano, lit. 'together with my brother', is rendered in SS quite differently than it is at times meant in AS. In the standard, a sentence such as

(STRIII, 49) Vivimos junto con mi hermano,

could be translated to English as

'We (speaker + other(s), addressee excluded)  
live together with my brother.'

In AS, however, the construction may also serve to foreground the person or persons indicated in the prepositional phrase, *who are also included in the subject of the verb*. In the sentence given above, an English gloss that approximates the AS sense would be:

'My brother and I, we live together.'

As yet no syntactic clues have been discovered which would reveal a structural parallel for one or the other sense of vivimos junto con mi hermano, exclusively. It is an ambiguous construction in AS: either translation may be correct, depending on the context. My experience is that it is precisely that—context—which enables the listener to distinguish the correct interpretation of the construction.

Laprade (1976), who has also reported this use of the structure, refers to its occurrence in first person plural constructions only. He refers to the function as a "double inclusion of the addressee"; i. e., that the addressee is marked twice, "once in the verb and once as the complement of con" (p. 93). His examples include

(LAPI, 93) Vamos a ir contigo,

'We (you and I) are going to go (with you)';

(LAPI, 93)

Estábamos hablando contigo,

'We (you and I) were talking (with you).'

The present research has demonstrated that the construction may be extended to third person(s) who are included in the subject of the verb, and that the rule includes the use of third person plural verb inflections. Additional examples of this use of the construction con + second or third person(s) include

(STRI, 140)

Estuvieron allá con los chicos,

'The boys, they lived there';

(STRIII, 12)

Entons junto andábamos con él,

'So, he and I together, we went about';

(STRIII, 18)

Bueno, nosotros seguíamos estudiando aquí en colegio Balivian, José Ballivián del Alto, Alto Lima, bueno así junto con mi hermano,

'Well, my brother and I, we continued to study here in Balivian high school, in Alto Lima, well, together like that.'

(STRV, 75)

A La Paz se han ido con otro, con mi primo, se habían ido para, en trabajar,

'They went to La Paz, (my brother) and another, (my brother) and my cousin, they went to work.'

In the data gathered for this research, there are only a few occurrences of the construction that appears to overmark the subject or part of the subject of the verb. However I did hear the phrase used in this manner on many occasions, in the speech of bilinguals from the lower and middle classes, in Peru and in Bolivia. Additional research will reveal the extension of the usage across social groups.



donde

As Laprade notes, donde may function "much as the French chez, meaning 'the home of'" (1976: 100), or 'the place of, the place where'. Additionally, in this usage the alternate forms onde or ande may also be heard. The usage is common in Bolivia and Peru, among lower and middle class speakers, among monolinguals and bilinguals, and in urban and rural areas. It is considered to be a special feature of the dialect by its speakers, although the forms are also heard and used in similar fashion in other dialect areas. Future research will determine if the forms are used in this way by the upper classes. Examples of the construction include:

- (STRV, 84)            No he ido donde mi hermano,  
                              'I haven't gone to my brother's';
- (STRI, 246)            . . . la mande (*sic*) ande su tío Fabian,  
                              '. . . I sent her to her uncle Fabian's.'

The second example occurred in a letter from a Bolivian friend.

The usage is apparently common in various parts of Latin America, is used colloquially in parts of Spain, and may be the survival of an archaic usage (Kany 1945). However the frequency of its occurrence in Bolivian Spanish warrants its inclusion here.

## CHAPTER VI

### MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX: NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

Several writers have discussed the number and gender inflections in the nominal system of AS, frequently using such descriptions as "unstable" (Escobar 1976), "fluctuating" (Flórez 1963: 9), and "a weakening of these categories" (Lozano 1975: 304). In a research project begun in 1973 dealing with the dialect zones in Peru (Escobar et al. 1975), the investigators distinguished several variant grammatical features of initial and advanced bilingual language, among them the "instability" (p. 94) of number and gender in the noun system, to the extent that syntactic agreement is affected. Cerrón-Palomino (1988) also notes "absence" (p. 68) of gender concord in highland Peruvian Spanish, as in

(CER, 68)                      pizarra viejo,  
   'old blackboard'

and

(CER, 68)                      plata enterrado,  
   'buried money'.

Gutiérrez (1984) found "lack of concord" (p. 96) in both gender and number between nouns and articles or adjectives in Bolivian Spanish, as in

(GUT, 98)                      Ya tienen bastante hijos,  
   'Now they have a lot of/enough children',

and

(GUT, 98)                      La pino muy grande es,

'The pine is very large.'

But the treatment of these categories by altiplano speakers may be considered to represent an increase in the number of options that exist for handling the general linguistic notions of gender and number.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, AS allows masculine as well as feminine gender marking on modifiers of nouns marked as feminine; and less often, feminine as well as masculine marking on modifiers of masculine nouns. In terms of number categories, plural nouns may be modified by singular articles and adjectives. And singular or plural subjects (expressed as nouns or pronouns, or previously stated subjects), may take verbs marked differently in number.

The following indicates those options in number and gender marking at the morphological and syntactic levels in the nominal system of AS which were encountered in this and in previous research, as well as other aspects of the relation between modifier and modified, and details regarding possessive phrases, subject pronouns, and noun combinations which are characteristic of the structure of AS. In general I found more variety in gender realization than in number marking in the noun phrase, although number marking does show considerable variation from SS in the noun to verb relationship, as described in Chapter V.

### Gender and Number

#### Noun

In AS, as in SS, nouns are marked for number by suffixation to the noun in the following manner: The singular form is the unmarked form; that is, it carries no suffix for singular, or a /-Ø/ allomorph. The plural form

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<sup>1</sup>That gender and number are treated differently may also represent an alternative perspective on these matters is discussed in Chapter IX.

is marked by a morpheme {-s} which has the allomorphs /-s/ for nouns ending in vowels and /-es/ for nouns ending in consonants or glides.

A characteristic of altiplano Spanish rapid or unmonitored speech involves vowel reduction or vowel dropping in the plural allomorph /-es/ to [-ɐs] or [-s]; and any noun ending in a vowel may have the final vowel similarly devoiced or dropped altogether before the plural suffix /-s/; for example,

- (STRIII, 5)            Me hicieron estudiar en [diferénts eskwéls  
                                 ruráls],
- 'They had me study in different rural schools':
- (STRX, 9)            Hay alguno bonitos, más gordos, muy altos,  
                                 ¿no? hay [ótrɐs] muy [čkíts],
- 'There are some pretty (llamas), very sturdy,  
tall, no?, there are others very small.'

Kany (1945) notes a general tendency in American Spanish to "differentiate natural gender of nouns, adjectives and participles more carefully than in the standard language" (p. 6). Particular cases of gender divergence, such as the use el tigre and la tigre to agree with the sex of the animal, were not noted in this study. Reference is made to the discussion earlier on in this report of syntactic patterns of gender agreement which are particularly characteristic of the research area.

#### Noun + Modifiers

##### Article + noun

Either el or la may be used with feminine nouns in the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals:

(STRIV, 15) Llegó algo de inglés y se presentó en el  
embajada americana . . . por una amiga  
consiguió trabajo en la embajada americana. . . ,

'She (learned) some English and presented herself to the American embassy. . . through a friend she obtained work in the American embassy. . . '

(STRII, 27) Le hemos dado una sorpresa ya a los  
autoridades,

'Then we gave the authorities a surprise.'

(STRVIII, 17) . . . el restos que queda como palitos. . . ,

' . . . the remain(s) that are left like little sticks. . . '

In a very few cases the masculine singular definite article was given as lo, as in

(STRVI, 3) Entonces, estos señores no obedecieron a lo  
patrón, y fueron trasladados muy lejos de aquí,  
¿no?

'So, these men didn't obey the patrón, and were sent very far from here, see?'

lo also appeared rather than the feminine singular la in

(STRIX, 30) . . . he salido lo mejor nota . . . ,

' . . . I got the best grade . . . '.

### Demonstrative + noun

The use of demonstratives which differ in gender marking from the modified noun was recorded in bilingual speech only:

(STRX, 59-60) Entonces ese sal compramos, y ese sal llevamos  
en la llama, adentro. Esa sal es para ganado . . . ,

'So, we buy that salt, and we carry it by llama into (the mountains). That salt is for livestock . . . '.

- (STRVI, 17) Ellos me contaron en ese forma,  
'They told me in that way.'
- (STRI, 5) De la generación de esta tiempo, algunos no ven a los padres como tales,  
'Some of today's generation don't look at their parents as such.'

### Noun + adjective

As with nouns, adjectives are marked for number as in SS, that is, {-Ø} indicating singular and {-s}, /-s/ and /-es/, indicating plural. Additionally, the plural morpheme contains the allomorph /-əs/, and addition of the plural /-s/ may give rise to devoicing or dropping of a word final vowel.

- (STRIII, 5) Me hicieron estudiar en [diferénts eskwéls uráls],  
'They had me study in different rural schools.'

However in AS not all adjectives which modify plural nouns carry the {-s} plural morpheme. If we are concerned that number concord be demonstrated between nouns and modifiers, then we may say that there are options within this system which include considering {-Ø} as a plural adjective suffix. That is, one may hear

- (STRX, 88) Sí, pero mujeres sola usted me ha dicho . . . ,  
'Yes, but women alone you told me . . . '
- (STRX, 66) Hay hartos otros también Ayaviri, también son igual-ø,  
'There are also many others — the Ayaviris, they are the same',
- (LOZ,304) Los informes fueron excelente-ø,

'The articles were excellent'.

If we are not concerned with the imposition of SS grammatical rules on this dialect, we may say that for some speakers of AS number is not a necessary distinction in adjective use, and therefore number concord between nominals and their adjective modifiers is also not necessary, although it may well be considered an option. The pattern may be extended to cover several noun modifiers, where the modifiers for a particular noun may also exhibit gender or number differences with each other.

- (STRVIII, 30)      ... las mujeres campesinas tienen unos  
kañawaykas gruesas,  
 '... the campesinas have some thick 'canes'.'
- (STRVIII, 11)      ... un arbusto mediana, de más o menos de unos  
 tres metros de altura,  
 '... a medium-sized bush, some three meters  
 high.'

There is a tendency to use the basic masculine gender marking of modifiers which are furthest from nouns they modify.

- (STRV, 45)      ... todavía esta casa no estaba techado ... ,  
 '... this house didn't have a roof ... '.
- (STRII, 29)      ... pero ninguna personas ya preocupado del  
 pueblo ... ,  
 '... but no one else so concerned about the  
 community ... '.
- (STRX, 9)      Hay algunos (llamas) bonitos, más gordos, muy  
altos, ¿no? hay otros muy chiquitos, ¿no?,  
 'Some (llamas) are pretty, sturdier, very large;  
 others are very small, right?'
- (STRV, 45)      ... todavía esta casa no estaba techado ... ,

- '... this house didn't have a roof ...',  
 (STRI, 158)      Las casas antiguas son descoloradas,  
 'The old houses are discolored',

Note that this last example was both spoken and then written on the blackboard by the teacher at a rural school in Bolivia. In the same lesson he also repeated aloud and wrote on the board:

- (STRI, 157)      La hoja del cuaderno es rayado,  
 'The page of the notebook is lined.'

indicating the acceptability in the spoken and at times in the written language of variation in gender realization of nominal modifiers. The latter example may show some influence from cuaderno to the gender of rayado.

Instances of such variation in number realization were very few in this research for noun phrase constituents, although they occurred with some frequency in the noun-verb relationship, as shown in Chapter V.

### Mass Nouns

A strong feature of the nominal system is the abundance of singular nouns where the plural form may be expected by speakers of other dialects. This phenomenon occurs in the Bolivian data for this research, and is mentioned by Escobar (1976: 95) regarding the speech of Peruvian bilinguals and by Hardman (1978: 129) as characteristic of the Peruvian population in general. Examples from these and from the present research include:

- (STRX, 147)      No hay caso criar harta llama ahora,  
 'There's no reason to raise a lot of llamas now';  
 (STRX, 36)      La llama trae tres arropa nomás,  
 'The llama carries only 3 arrobas';  
 (ESCII, 95)      La señora vende huevo,  
 'The señora sells eggs.'



Hardman (1978: 129) remarks that, in the face of this tendency to utilize singular nouns where SS calls for plural, the phenomenon may be understood as an enormous expansion of the preexisting mass noun category. She further notes that the category of mass nouns especially for comestibles has been greatly expanded, to the extent that

(HARII, 129)                      Quiero comer papa,

'I want to eat potatoes',

is the correct form in Peru, and that even in Lima one seldom hears

Quiero comer papas.

### Pronominal Referent

Subject and prepositional object pronouns exhibit the gender/number variability in terms of their referent nouns:

(STRVIII, 32)                      "Pulu" llaman ellos, las mujeres,

'They, the women call (them) "pulu".'

(STRIX, 38)                      . . . y con ideas diferentes a los de los papás,

' . . . and with different ideas from their parents'.'

Verbal object pronouns also display different patterns from SS reflecting those in the nominal system of AS. These were discussed in Chapter V, above.

### Noun and Modifiers

#### Presence or Absence of Article

Altiplano Spanish allows the use of nouns not preceded by definite or indefinite articles in contexts in which speakers of other dialects have indicated they would prefer the use of articles.

(STRV, 9)                      Con parto ha muerto mi mamá, con parto,

'In childbirth my mom died, in childbirth',

where speakers of other dialects<sup>2</sup> prefer con el parto, and

(STRIX, 30) . . . incluso de todos compañeros que bien . . . ,  
' . . . including all the compañeros who . . . '

where others prefer todos los compañeros.

The following example was taken from a flyer passed out at a demonstration:

(STRI, 102) Problemas como el de impuestos y patentes  
deben resolverse en cabilde abierto . . . ,  
'Problems like taxes and patents should be  
resolved in an open town meeting . . . '

For some speakers the use of definite articles appears to be optional in the sense that not using one does not appear to be related to any shift in meaning, as in

(STRX, 149) Entons tiene que estar llama,  
'So there have to be llamas',

compared with the following, from the same speaker:

(STRX, 146) . . . ¿dónde va a estar la llama? ,  
' . . . where will the llamas stay?'

Various writers from Kany (1947) to Cerrón-Palomino (1988) have described the omission of definite articles in various contexts in which SS would prefer the article. Kany writes of the "omission" of the article before certain nouns such as colegio and casa in Bolivian Spanish, and Cerrón-Palomino in a description of el hablar motoso in Peru (1988), notes a characteristic of motosidad in the expression of nouns not preceded by definite articles:

(CER, 68) está en calle,

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<sup>2</sup>M. Noriega, a Panamanian speaker, personal communication, 1987.

'X is in the street',

and

(CER, 68)

¿dónde está caballo?,

'where are there horses?'.  
 Escobar describes the absence of articles before nouns as the direct object

in Peruvian serrano Spanish, as in

(ESCI, 108)

María escribe carta,

'María writes a letter'.

Given the tendency to move many nominal items in the vocabulary to the mass noun category, it is possible that the tendency to use nouns without definite articles may reflect that process. Therefore, in AS the meaning of the sentence given immediately above can be understood to be 'María writes a letter' only from the context of the situation, while a different context could indicate that the meaning should be 'María writes letters'.

The Quechua-influenced writings of José María Arguedas (Beyersdorff:1986) reflect the tendency indicated above for both definite and indefinite articles, as in :

(BEY, 37)

Ahura K'ayau va echar Misitu de don Julián en plaza,

where the standard is given as

Ahora los de K'ayaw van a echar en la plaza el Misitu de don Julián,

'Now those from K'ayaw will toss don Julian's Misitu in the plaza,'

or

(BEY, 37)

Sallk'a grande no más es Misitu, enrabiado hasta corazón.

where the standard is given as

El Misitu es sólo un toro salvaje grande,  
enojado hasta el fondo de su corazón,

'The Misitu is only a large wild bull, maddened  
to the depths of his heart.'

Definite articles are frequently used with first names in both Bolivia and Peru, regardless of sex, and without denoting denigration as is the case in other dialect areas:

(STRI, 250)      La Andrea también continúa con su proyecto y  
viaja mucho al campo,

'Andrea also continues with her project and  
travels a lot to the countryside',

(STRIX, 55)      La Soraya también está estudiando . . . ,

'Soraya is also studying . . . '.

### Word Order

Although others have reported for Peruvian highland Spanish a shift in modifier-noun word order, specifically the descriptive adjective preceding a noun, no instances of this phenomenon have been recorded in this research. Cerrón-Palomino (1988) reports items such as

(CER, 68)      grande reja,  
                         'large grating, grill'

and

(CER, 68)      viejo cuchara,  
                         'old spoon'.

This order was also found by Minaya (1981) et al. in research on children and adult Peruvian bilinguals.

Genitive-noun order does occur in the current data, as described below.

### bien + Adjective

Another characteristic adjective phrase in AS involves an extension of the construction bien + past participle as adjective, as in bien hecho, 'well made', bien mostrado, 'well shown', etc. As indicated by Mendoza (1988: 14-15), in AS this function of bien is generalized to include the form bien + simple adjective, as in bien lista, 'very bright', bien enferma, 'very sick', etc., and bien has come to take on the function of an intensifier, with the sense of muy, 'very'. The structure is very common in the speech of the lower and middle classes, and was heard in urban and rural areas in Bolivia during the course of this research. It was not heard in Peru, although the data from there on this topic is limited.

(STRI, 162)

Bien harto pajaros mueren con el helado,

'Very many birds die with the freezing cold';

### Noun Combinations

There are noun combinations composed of two or more nouns, which from the perspective of SS appear to have deleted a connecting preposition, as in factor de tiempo, 'time factor', which in AS may be given as factor tiempo. The AS usage does not appear to be highly productive but is noted for both urban and rural Bolivia, and urban Puno in Peru. The construction does not necessarily have an underlying de, but may instead result from substrate pattern influence discussed in Chapter VIII, or it may be an extension of SS constructions such as mesa directiva, as in

(STR II, 28)

. . . estamos formando una mesa directiva para el bien del pueblo,

' . . . we are forming a governing board for the good of the town',

in which the noun mesa is followed by the modifier directiva in the SS tradition. Other realizations of this pattern include, for example,

(STRX, 6) . . . nosotros vendemos a los matanceros llama macho . . . ,

' . . . we sell male llamas to the butchers . . . ',

and

(STRVI, 1) . . . es una zona aymara del sector lago Titikaka,

' . . . it's an Aymara zone in the Lake Titikaka area'.

(STRIII, 64) Claro que no viajo por factor tiempo, ¿ve?,

'Of course I don't travel because of time, see?'

The following, in which articles at times precede the first or both nouns, differ more clearly from SS:

(STRX, 156) En Chapari está la mayoría la gente, . . . ,

'The majority of the people are in Chapari, . . . .';

(STRVII, 13) Pueden estar los hablante castellanos . . . ,

'Spanish speakers can be there . . . ',

(STRVII, 13) . . . otras compañeras que es amiga nuestra organización . . . ,

' . . . other compañeras who are friends of our organization . . . .';

#### Possessive Phrases

The preposed adjective forms, mi(s), tu(s), singular and plural su(s), and nuestro/a(s), are far more common in AS than the postposed forms, mío/a(s), tuyo/a(s), etc. Use of the preposed personal possessive adjective for reference to body parts, etc., is also noted, and contrasts to the standard use of the definite article preceding possessed nouns of that type (Laprade 1976). For example:

(STRVIII, 2) . . . un campesino que se llamaba Facundo, ha sufrido una caída, y se ha malogrado la rodilla, una de las rodillas de sus pies,

' . . . a campesino called Facundo suffered a fall and displaced his knee, one of the knees of his legs';

(STRIII, 36) Eso es mi meta que tengo,

'That is the goal that I have.'

Possessive, or genitive, constructions such as su marido de su hija, or de su hija su marido, 'the husband of her daughter', have often been characterized as reflecting indigenous (Quechua or Aymara) language syntactic elements, where both possessed and possessor carry inflections for possession. Possible contact influences are discussed in Chapter IX. Escobar (1978) refers to the 'emphatic' possessive in the Spanish of the Peruvian sierra:

(ESCI, 108) Esta es su tienda de mi compadre,

'This is my compadre's store',

and Lozano (1975) uses the term 'double' possessive, referring to data on the Spanish of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Ayacucho, as in

(LOZ, 299) Obedezcan sus ordenes de él,

'Obey his orders'.

Lozano also includes the structure in which the possessor phrase precedes the item possessed, for example,

(LOZ, 299) Se quemó del joven su pantalón,

'The young man's trousers got burned',

in his remarks on the syntactic pattern 'double possessive'.

Gutiérrez (1984) and Herrero (1969) also have noted the Bolivian use of constructions in which the genitive complement precedes the principal nominal phrase, resulting in the double possessive structure

(GUT, 96)                de la María su casa,  
                              'María's house'.

Additional references to this type of structure include those from Cerrón-Palomino (1988), Rodríguez (1982) and Escobar (1978) for Peruvian Spanish, for example:

(CER, 68)                de mi tío su casa,  
                              'my uncle's house'.

Both types of constructions were encountered frequently during this research in both monolingual and bilingual speech, including:

(STRIV, 30)            Yo tenía sus . . . de mi mamá sus joyas,  
                              'I had her . . . my mom's jewelry';

(STRI, 153)            De mi tío su casa es,  
                              'It is my uncle's house';

(STRII, 16)            Después hemos obsequiado libros al escuela de  
                              allá que tampoco tenía su ayuda del alcaldía,  
                              más que todo, o vecinos del pueblo,  
  
                              'Afterward we gave books to the school there,  
                              which also didn't have the help of the office of  
                              the mayor, most of all, or of the mestizos of  
                              the community.'

### Subject Pronouns

The following constitutes the subject pronoun paradigm for altiplano Spanish:



Person	Singular	Plural
I	yo	nosotros, nos <sup>3</sup>
II	tú, vos	
III	él, ella; usted, vos	ustedes

### Tú, vos and usted

Vos is frequently heard as a familiar form in both urban and rural areas of Bolivia, as well as tú, among peers, family, and to indicate friendship or familiarity between persons of varying socio-economic or cultural backgrounds. For some speakers the use of vos indicates a greater degree of intimacy than tú, which is therefore considered somewhat more formal or polite. These speakers then have a three way system along a continuum from intimacy to formality, with usted as the formal and very polite (or very distant) address form:

<u>vos</u> = [+ intimacy]	<u>tú</u> = [+ polite]	<u>usted</u> = [+ formal]
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Vos is currently a very popular form among young people, and at times can be heard as an invariant form replacing both tú and Ud. in the speech of speakers in both rural and urban areas. Vos is used with the singular verb form associated with tú, as in

(STRI, 22)                      Vos no quieres enseñarles,  
   'You don't want to teach them',

except in the imperative where the plural form is used:

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<sup>3</sup>per Richard Laprade (1976).

(STRI, 16)                    ¡A ver habla vos!,  
                                  'Come on, talk!'

Kany (1947) indicated that vos sois may be heard as well as vos eres for the present indicative of ser (p. 194); that usage was not noted during this research.

Mendoza (1988) maintains that vos (= tú) is not characteristic of either popular speech or the variedad culta on the Peruvian altiplano, and that its use in Bolivia distinguishes Bolivian Spanish from Andean Spanish in general (p. 16). Likewise in the Peruvian data recorded for this research vos occurs as an object of a preposition but not in the subject slot, where only the tú form occurs.

Terms of address follow the general patterns for SS: usted for formality, and as an expression of politeness, respect or distance; and tú or vos for familiarity, and as an expression of friendship, solidarity or intimacy. The specific patterns, however, require some explication, and as a matter of fact this research may reveal more questions about those patterns than it answers.

Highlanders in Bolivia (and possibly Peru—the research data from Peru is limited on this point) display a preference for informality or friendly address with the addressee, and frequently request that second person forms (tú and vos) be used reciprocally. This was my experience in the La Paz area, especially with those who may be considered middle class, and with both monolinguals and bilinguals; and it was also the case in the rural area, although usually without the request for mutual tuteo. Campesinos were justifiably more cautious of a stranger, especially a foreigner, and would initially use usted and then would use tú or vos when they had obtained sufficient information about me, or any other stranger, to warrant it.

I am not suggesting that the shift from initial use of usted followed by a rapid shift to vos occurs across all social and economic boundaries. It is not likely that upper class Bolivians would insist that a campesino, particularly a stranger, refer to them using the familiar forms, even while they may be employing those forms to address the campesino—a classic case of the French tu/vous class dichotomy described by Brown and Gilman (1960). On the other hand it is not uncommon to hear tú or vos used between familiars of different socio-economic strata and ethnic backgrounds: university students and professors, live-in maids and employers, clients and shop attendants or bank tellers.

I also heard the exclusive use of vos for address by some speakers, especially by older bilinguals, suggesting to me that at least in some bilingual speech vos may replace both tú and usted. It is possible, of course, that I simply wasn't present when the context appeared in which usted would be appropriately used by these speakers. However, one may also hear either vos or tú accompanied by the third singular verb form (vos dice/ ha dicho), which may reinforce the notion that vos serves for all situations as a term of address for some speakers. It is usually accompanied, however, by the second person singular verb form (vos dices/ has dicho).

An additional feature of highland discourse involves these subject pronouns as a resource for providing shape or tone to a particular message. In a variety of situations involving introductions and requests, particularly, as well as in more general conversations, it is not uncommon to be addressed first as usted, then as tú or vos (if it is socially appropriate) as the discourse—conversation, explanation, relation of events, etc.,—proceeds, and finally, the use of usted again to round out the discourse—for leave-taking, to summarize or restate a request, or to end the conversation on a polite note.

The general feeling this lends to the conversation is the speaker's respect for the addressee, and at the same time a reinforcement of or desire for friendship—or at least a pleasant communication—with that person.

Unfortunately the research is incomplete with regard to determining the correct response to such desirable treatment. My own experience was such that I could either follow the pattern indicated above, or persist in the use of either usted or tú/vos with the speaker, depending on which was appropriate, and my response was acceptable — for a foreigner. For those conversations in which the courteous-friendship (usted-tú/vos-usted) pattern was noted and I was able to determine a response pattern, it proved to be usted-tú/vos-usted as well. However in not every case was it possible to determine the relationship of the interlocutors, which probably has a bearing on the appropriate response pattern.

Some speakers will use tú with familiars initially in a conversation and switch to vos when the topic of conversation becomes intimate, so that topic is a clear correlate of change in register. Topic may be said to govern the usted-tú/vos-usted pattern indicated above, at least in part.

#### *nos* and *nosotros*

According to Laprade (1976) nos may be used to indicate the inclusive (speaker +/- others + addressee) first person plural, and nosotros or mi + the first person plural verb form to indicate the exclusive of addressee first person plural.

Nos as a subject form does not occur in these data, in which nos is instead used in a reflexive (or 'participative'—see Chapter V) sense. It is likely that Laprade's interpretation is not appropriate for this sample. Examples from the present study include:

(STRV, 24) Tres días nos hemos atrasados en ahí, y en esas semanas ya no hemos hecho nada,

'Three days we delayed there, and during those weeks we didn't do anything.'

(STRIII, 15) . . . y posteriormente nos venimos aquí a La Paz,

' . . . and then we came here, to La Paz.'

In the first example, the nos hemos atrasado may be understood to mean something like 'we delayed on our own, to ourselves, among ourselves'. And in the second example, the context of the statement is a description of the lives of two brothers in rural Potosí, in which the speaker talks about their having to cook for themselves in the rural schools. More from his discussion is presented in the example below:

(STRIII, 13) Nos cocinábamos en las escuelas que estábamos internados, ¿no?,

'We cooked for ourselves in the schools where we boarded.'

#### Prepositional Object Pronouns

The prepositional object pronoun (OP) forms are identical with the subject forms (above), with the exception of mí, ti and reflexive sí, for which the allomorphs -migo, -tigo, and -sigo follow con. Vos appears as OP as well:

(STRI, 167) El lo ha pedido para vos,

'He asked for it for you';

(STRI, 115) Con vos más, vos, Teodora, y la Delia,

'With you, too, you Teodora, and Dale.'

The form vos as prepositional object does occur in the Peruvian as well as in the Bolivian data for this research. The Peruvian sample is limited, it is from a tape-recorded letter to a sister currently living in La Paz where vos is current, and thus this sample may be exceptional:

(STRIX, 74)

También te estoy mandando saludos de parte de mi mamá, de parte de Helga, para vos y para todos,

'Also I send greetings to you from Mom and Helga, for you and for everybody.'

## CHAPTER VII

### SYNTAX: DISCOURSE PROCESSES

Discourse processes refer to those features of speech which contribute to the grammatical structure of discourse, and others which primarily function to lend AS its particular 'shape' at a level beyond the construction of sentences. Included below are the elements involved in data source marking and other grammatical processes such as conjunction and subordination, the various processes which often are performed by suffixed elements, and the functions of topicalization and repetition.

#### Data Source Marking

As indicated in Chapter V, the evidentials category, referred to as data source, is expressed in AS by the use of (1) selected verb tenses and (2) forms of decir. A third option is quotation, and the three may be combined in varying ways which at first may seem confusing to speakers of other dialects of Spanish. In fact such confusion, a result of a misunderstanding or misreading of the structure of AS, often leads to the conclusion on the part of the hearer or reader that speakers of AS simply do not have command of the Spanish language. The following will describe the several ways in which data source categories are manifested in speech events in AS.

#### Verb Tense

As we have seen, verb tenses in AS specify the source of the information being relayed at least as much as they indicate the time frame of the events in question. A full description of the individual tenses and their

relevance to data source has been provided in the section on the syntax and social contexts of verb tenses. What follows are portions of texts recorded for this study, with a detailed English gloss of the AS texts which includes explication of the data source information contained in the individual verb forms. An attempt has been made to represent the narratives according to the flow of speech, rather than in paragraph form<sup>1</sup>. Commas represent pauses, periods represent utterance-final pauses; ellipses are used only for deleting material that includes hesitations, switches in the midst of word formation, etc. Full transcriptions of the narratives are included in the appendices. Information provided in parentheses is from context. English translations of verb meanings (excluding data source categories) are underlined, as are the corresponding AS verb forms. Data source meanings are indicated in italics.

The first text is from a young man who had just turned 15 years old at the time of the recording in early 1987, a bilingual (Aymara—Spanish), living in the rural community Kusijata, Provincia Manco Kapac, located very near to Copacabana in Bolivia.

(STRV, 71-80)

(M)is hermanos están en La Paz,  
 en la ciudad está, mi hermano mayor,  
ha salido el año pasado bachiller de nuestro colegio.  
 Y, este año ha ido al cuartel, y, el año creo que va a estudiar.  
 Y mi otro hermano está trabajando así.  
 Se ha salido del colegio, estaba en primer medio, y . . . en julio,  
 por allí se ha salido.  
 A La Paz se han ido con otro, con mi primo,  
 se habían ido para, en trabajar.  
 Y, en nada habían encontrado trabajo,  
 y buscando así.  
 Y, está mi tío en ahí, y le había encontrado,  
 y, mi tío había ido también para que trabaje.  
 Sí, el otro también con su cuñado se había ido a trabajar, mi primo,  
 y, desde ahí de ese año . . . el anteaño pasado, se ha ido.

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<sup>1</sup>cf. Hymes 1981 and Tedlock 1983.



Del anteaño pasado estabaps en La Paz es.  
No viene casi.

'My brothers are in La Paz,  
he's in the city, my older brother,  
last year he graduated from our high school,  
*I was there, I saw him graduate .*  
And, this year he went into the Army  
*I know because I saw him do it, or perhaps I saw the papers ,*  
and next year I believe he's going to go (to school),  
*I have some reason to vouch for that .*  
And my other brother is working like that  
(you know how work is).  
He left high school, he was in junior high, and . . . in July,  
around that time, he left  
*I was there, I saw him go .*  
They went to La Paz, he and another, he and my cousin,  
*I was there, I saw them go,*  
they went (to find) work  
*I suppose, I can't say that I know it personally —*  
*how can you know someone else's mind?*  
And they didn't find work (doing) anything  
*it appears, I wasn't there,*  
(they were) looking around (for it).  
And, my uncle is there, and (my brother) met him  
*so the story goes, I wasn't there, I didn't see it,*  
and, my uncle also went there to work  
*that was likely his intention, but I can't personally testify to it .*  
And another, my cousin,  
also went with his brother-in-law to (find) work  
*this is their personal knowledge, not mine .*  
And from this year . . . the year before last, (my brother) left  
*I saw him go .*  
Since year before last he's been in La Paz, (that's where) he is.  
He seldom comes (here).'

Note that throughout the narrative, the speaker gives the non-personal knowledge form, the pluperfect, when he tells about the motives or intentions or ideas of others. These are things he cannot know personally, he knows about them only if they are spoken aloud by the person who has them. So while the speaker does not say specifically at this point where the information about comes from about his family members having gone to La

Paz for the purpose of looking for work, it is clear that he can't speak of these matters using forms that would indicate that the information is his through his own personal experience.

On the other hand, the informant can speak from personal experience about the fact that the family members have left Kusijata for La Paz—he saw them go, saw them get on the bus bound for La Paz with their possessions. The present perfect is the form chosen here to express the personal knowledge category of information. Likewise the speaker knows from personal experience that his brother graduated from the high school near Kusijata, and that then he went into the army. The use of the present tense without a non-personal knowledge marker such as me dicen, 'they tell me', to relay information occurs in the context of discourse in which the essential parameters are laid out in otherwise unambiguous data source terms.

In one of the narratives recorded for this research, the informant consistently used the present perfect forms to relay information about activities that she had been involved in as a member of an Aymara community. The preterite, also a personal knowledge form, was used to signal personal knowledge, but regarding activities of 'others'—including activities of the 'authorities' from whom she clearly wishes to distance herself. The following is taken from this narration wherein the informant is giving a list of activities on behalf of the community in which she participated (see text II in the appendices for a complete picture of the events in question):

(STR II)

Hemos habido una reunión . . . . Hemos obrado .  
 . . para el techado de las piezas de los profesores.  
 . . . Hemos preparado varios platos . . . . Hemos  
comprado las calaminas . . . . Y entonces esto ha

sido una sorpresa. . . . Le hemos dado una sorpresa ya a los autoridades. . . ,

'We had a meeting . . . . We worked for the roofing for the teachers' rooms . . . We prepared various dishes . . . . We bought the roofing tin . . . And then this was a surprise . . . . We gave a surprise to the authorities. . . .';

Compare the following statements describing the activities of others in regard to working for the welfare of the community:

(STR11) . . . los mandones — corregidor, alcalde — obsequió un pequeño terreno, para la construcción de seis o siete piezas. . . . Vinieron y se dieron una sorpresa grande al recibir calaminas y libros. Sí, quedaron muy satisfechos,

' . . . the authorities — governor, mayor — gave a small piece of land for the construction of six or seven rooms . . . . They came and they had for themselves a big surprise on receiving the roofing tin. Yes, they were very satisfied.'

Thus levels of personal involvement, and of community and companionship versus distance and formality, are expressed by use of either the present perfect or the preterite forms, and must be considered an integral part of the message of the narrative.

### Forms of *decir*

Many researchers have commented on the use of decir as a narrative element in the speech of highlanders of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. A few have noted the place of this speaking style in the evidentials system of Andean Spanish.

Beyersdorff, for example, (1986) notes the use of forms of decir as a reportative in the literature of Arguedas, which frequently uses the speech of Peruvian serranos as the literary motif:

(BEY 36)                   !Encanto, encanto, diciendo pichk'achuris,  
                                  taitay!

where the standard is given as

!Los Pichk'achuris dicen que es encanto, mi  
papacito!

'The Pichk'achuris say that it's enchantment,  
my papa!'

Muysken, researching Ecuadorian Spanish, has noted the high frequency use of diz que, 'X says, they say', (1985: 66). He remarks that such constructions correspond functionally to the Quechua suffix indicating hearsay information (indirect or non-personal knowledge). In general, it is the frequency of such usage in the Andean context, not the form itself, which is considered a feature of altiplano Spanish. Additionally, forms of decir often occur, as Escobar (1978) notes, in utterance-final position, as in

(ESCI, 109)               Extrañaba a su marido, dice,  
                                  'She missed her husband, she says.'

The frequency of the form in the sentence final position, and its role in the evidentials system, leads to the conclusion that these constructions serve syntactically as sentence particles signaling non-personal knowledge. Use of the construction for this purpose is widespread throughout the research area.

The following is taken from a narrative recorded in 1987 for this study. The speaker is a 33-year-old trilingual (Aymara—Spanish—Quechua) from Wari, La Paz, Bolivia. In this particular narrative the sentence particles from decir are used most often to introduce information; they occur syntactically prior to information to which they refer. The format of the narrative presentation follows that given for the previous narrative.

(STRX, 136-145)

Es la verdad, está cambiando,  
 está cambiando (el uso de las llamas), verdad.  
 Igual decía en mi pueblo, mis familias,  
     dice que tenía mi abuelo,  
     dizque tenía la llama ¡harto!  
 Ahorita tiene los canchones tiene,  
     de llama,  
 los canchones tiene los . . . morallas,  
 tiene ahora de piedra son pues eso.  
     Tiene, lo tiene ahorita. . . .  
 Este dizque tenía llenito la llama.  
     Aparte dice que tenía alpaca.  
Dizque antes era dizque era lindo,  
     ahora no hay eso.  
 Porque hay mucha gente ahora.

'It's true, it's changing,  
 it's changing (the use of the llamas), true.  
They said the same thing in my community, my family,  
     they say that my grandfather had,  
     they say he had many llamas!  
 Right now the llama corrals have, they have  
     the corrals have . . . walls,  
 they have (them still), they're of stone!  
 They have (them), they have them now. . . .  
     This they say was full of llamas.  
     And they say that he had alpaca.  
They say that before, they say it was beautiful,  
     now this doesn't exist.  
 For there are (too) many people now.'

The use of decir to indicate non-personal knowledge allows the speaker to use personal knowledge forms, in this case the imperfect, to express past events to which he was not a personal witness. Note that the use of the present tense without non-personal knowledge qualification would signal that Ascencio had *seen* the llama corrals with stone walls that he describes.

### Quoting

There is a high incidence of the use of direct quotes in AS, and often these are encapsulated in sentence structure. Indeed, at times it seems this

form of reference is preferred to indirect quotes, replacing subordinated clauses. Quoting is relevant to data source indication not only as a means of signaling the source of the information. It also provides a way to transmit the information as directly as possible, that is, without going through the filter of interpretation. Thus the high value which is placed on accurate indication of data source in AS also attends the concise transmittal of the information.

In text II (see appendices), a relatively short narrative, the speaker makes use of direct quotes three times. The following provide examples of use of the encapsulated quote.

- (STRVIII, 5)      Entonces el campesino me dijo de que "no me tocara aquí," ni siquiera le avisara al médico, para que le atienda su fractura en una de las rodillas,
- 'So the campesino told me "don't touch me here", neither did he want me tell the doctor, so that he might attend his knee fracture.'
- (STRV, 40)      Sí, y nos ha dicho "ella está agarrando", así,
- 'Yea, and X told us "she has (it)," like that.'
- (STRV, 34)      "Así que esté nomás" también mi papá ha dicho,
- ' "Let it be like that" my dad also said.'
- (STRVI, 12)      Entonces, yo le decía "¿por qué lo han colocado 'Carabuco'?", y ellos me decían de que "la gente de aquí ha salido". . . ,
- 'So, I asked (them) "why did they name it 'Carabuco'?", and they told me "the people left from here". . . '

### Combined Forms

Combinations of the data source indicators listed above (verb forms, forms of decir, and quoting) are created by speakers of AS in order to express a variety of subtle distinctions regarding personal and non-personal knowledge. For example, the use of the pluperfect together with constructions using some form of decir, or otherwise indicating that the source of the information was outside the personal experience of the speaker, yields more personal distance for the speaker from the information. In the following, the speaker signals that he was told information during his travels (he 'heard' it, they 'told' him, they 'indicated'), and the form used initially is the pluperfect tense. Data source indicators are underlined:

(STRVI, 1-2)      Lo poco que había escuchado a través de los viejitos o ancianos que me contaron cuando estaba pasando por la comunidad de Carabuco, es una zona aymara del sector Lago Titicaca, provincia Camacho. Entonces, ellos indican en el tiempo del explotación de los patrones, había familias que apellidan Mamanis, Quispes, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka,

'(I'll tell you of) the little that I heard from the older ones or elderly ones who told me when I was travelling through the community of Carabuco, it's an Aymara area of Lake Titicaca, (in) Camacho province. So, they indicate(d) (that) in the era of exploitation by the patrons, there were families whose surnames were Mamani, Quispe, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka.'

In the first line of the narrative, then, the speaker not only indicates that he heard the information, but underscores the fact that the events in question did not happen to him by utilizing the pluperfect. The imperfect progressive (estaba pasando) and the unqualified present tense forms indicate personal knowledge or personal experience. The present tense forms (indican and

apellidan) are cases of the present tense used as a past, and are personal knowledge forms. Note that apellidan provides the original (as told to the informant) statement. The personal knowledge form is permitted here because it is qualified by the statement ellos indican, 'they indicate(d).'

Certain types of emphasis or stress can be also be placed by use of forms expressing personal knowledge. In the following the speaker indicates in the first line of the narrative where the information is from: it came from study, it did not happen to him personally. However, his use of the present perfect and the phrase 'I have seen, I saw' here tends to highlight the fact of study as the source of the data—for some reason he wants to make that very clear. Perhaps he feels that study can be an important source of knowledge.

(STRV, 69)

Primeramente he visto yo estudiando, que las incas se habían hecho de piedra, sí, y, como había una piedra más fina, 'piedra pulida' había llamado, de ese se han hecho,

'First I saw (by) studying, that the Incas made (things) for themselves of stone, yes, and, as there was a very fine stone, it was called 'polished stone', they made themselves (things) of that';

In sum, the speaker points out, vouches for, the fact that he studied, so he can use a personal knowledge form to relay that information. The pluperfect forms which follow are used to relay the information that was obtained by study, since the speaker was not there during the time of the Incas. He states what the stone was called during that epoch, using the pluperfect form. In all of this, the addition of the pluperfect to an utterance in which non-personal knowledge data source is already indicated provides an additional signal to the listener that the information is not personal knowledge. He wanted to be sure that I understood that, perhaps because I'm



a foreigner and may not understand their history. However, because he stated the source of his information, he can use the personal knowledge form (here, the present perfect) in the context of telling what he learned about the Incas, and he does so in the last part of the telling.

### Particles

Expressions such as seguro, seguramente, quizá, de repente, and supongo may be used to indicate agreement without personal knowledge (e. g., 'I'm sure that is the case but I wasn't there'). These items occurring in responses to statements do not indicate that those statements are doubted, which is often the misinterpretation given by those who do not speak AS (cf. Hardman 1985b). On the contrary, the response which includes these expressions is intended to convey a positive message to the interlocutor, while at the same time meeting the requirements of the data source category (see Chapter V), which are to clarify whether one has personally experienced the information being given.

### Subordination

Three types of subordination which occur in AS will be considered here: relativization, through which a noun is modified by a sentence embedded inside the noun phrase; subordination by gerund usage; and subordination by juxtaposition. Although the structures indicated below occur in the data and are recognized as sufficiently frequent in AS for inclusion in this report, it must be noted that at this point only the occurrence of the items can be discussed. A more important point from the perspective of linguistic anthropology is whether the constructions cited below signal a different meaning in their usage than that indicated by subordination processes in SS. For example, both que and lo que occur in AS in relative

pronoun slots—does lo que have a somewhat different meaning than que? Future research in the dialect area will identify such distinctions if they exist.

### Relativization

"A relative clause is a sentence embedded inside NP, modifying that NP's head noun like an adjective" (Whitley 1986: 293). The relative pronoun which leads the embedded sentence has the same referent as the antecedent noun modified by the embedded sentence.

There is a tendency among some speakers to provide an antecedent, neuter or masculine lo before the relative pronoun que. Kany, also noting the constructions, asserts that it was probably brought into being by "the use of invariable lo as a redundant pronoun" (1947: 203). Examples in this research include the following, in which lo is repeated after que:

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| (STRVI, 16) | <p>... la pregunta <u>lo que</u> lo he hecho es ... ,</p> <p>'... the question that I asked is ... '.</p>   |
| (STRI, 127) | <p>De los aymaras <u>los que</u> han venido del campo,</p> <p>hay mucha gente que está capitalista,</p> <p>'Of the Aymara people who've come from the countryside, there are many who are capitalist';</p>  |
| (STRVI, 9)  | <p>Y por eso la gente de allí habla todavía aymara,</p> <p>se recuerda, pero en sí no quieren decirlo tal vez de este <u>lo que</u> había pasado,</p> <p>'And for this reason the people from there still speak Aymara, it's remembered, but in themselves they don't want to say they do, perhaps because of what had happened';</p> |

### Gerund

At times gerund forms will play the functional role in AS of subordinated clauses introduced by que, or by subordinating conjunctions

used in SS, such as si, cuando, como si, etc.. There are few instances of this in the data recorded on tape for this research:

- (STRV, 69) Primeramente he visto yo estudiando, que las Incas se habían hecho de piedra . . . ,
- Mainly I saw (when I was) studying that the Incas made (things) for themselves of stone. . . '

The gerund as a subordinated verb is also used in writing, especially in direct translations from Aymara to Spanish, suggesting parallels with structures in the indigenous language. The following were taken from such translations:

- (STRI, 242) Entonces nosotros entre los dos estudiando, junto siempre donde sea solíamos ir . . . en el campo a diferentes colegios,
- 'So we two studying, together wherever we used to go . . . in the countryside to different schools.'
- (STRI, 244) Entonces estando un año en el cuartel ya sabía en allá,
- 'So being a year in the army, then I knew (what it was like) there'.
- (STRI, 248) Al Tupak Katari agarando llevarón a una cueva en esa oyada han matado. . . su cabeza llevaron a la ciudad de La Paz hasta Liquiliqui han hecho llegar. Y asiendo llegar clavaron su cabeza a la Tierra (original spelling preserved),

where the standard might read

Cuando habían agarrado al Tupak Katari, lo llevaron a una cueva, y en esa hoyada lo mataron . . . su cabeza llevaron a la ciudad de La Paz, hasta Liquiliqui la han hecho llegar. Y cuando la habían hecho llegar, clavaron su cabeza a la Tierra,

'When they had captured Tupak Katari, they carried (him) to a cave, (and) in this hollow

they killed (him) . . . . they carried his head to  
the city of La Paz, to Liquiliqui they took (it).  
And when (it) arrived, they nailed his head to  
the earth';

(BEY, 35) Capaz cerro grande también cargando hasta la  
mar k'ocha,

The second example, taken from the literature of José María Arguedas, is cited  
by Beyersdorff (1986); a standard interpretation of the Peruvian sample is  
given as

'También es posible que carguemos el cerro  
grande hasta el mar',

'Also it's possible that we carry the large hill  
to the sea.'

Muysken (1984) also notes a high frequency of gerund use in  
subordinated constructions in Ecuador, such as:

(MUY, 104) Ya desyerbar terminando a la yerba lo  
llevado a la casa,

'Having finished weeding, I took the  
weeds to the house',

### Adverbial Subordinator and Fronting of Subordinate Clause

#### Presence of adverbial head

Cerrón-Palomino (1988: 68) has reported that, in the speech of both  
bilinguals and monolinguals in Peru, subordinate clauses often occur before  
main clauses, as in

(CER, 68) En lo que estaba jugando se cayó,

for the standard

Se cayó donde estaba jugando,

'He fell down where he was playing',

and

(CER, 68)

De lo que faltaste se molestó,

for the standard

Se molestó por lo que faltaste,

'X was bothered because you were absent'.

Note that for both of the examples given by Cerrón-Palomino, the standard adverbial subordinators donde (locative) and por (causal) have been replaced by what he considers to be the semantic calques en lo que and de lo que, respectively (p. 68). Cerrón-Palomino considers both the order of the subordinate and principle clauses and the source of the calques to be due to Quechua influence.

The examples give by Cerrón-Palomino for Peruvian Spanish are also characteristic of Bolivian usage, and thus are considered to represent AS in general. Although there were no utterances recorded for this research with the type of semantic calque heading the adverbial clauses in the examples above, they were heard in the target area during the current research in the speech of bilinguals. Because it is the case that fronting or foregrounding of elements of the sentence that the speaker chooses to present first, emphasize, etc, is a characteristic of AS, it may be that the fronting of subordinate clauses is at least partially influenced by stylistic patterns.

#### Absence of adverbial head

Subordinate clauses may stand 'alone' in the sense that they need not be introduced by subordinating conjunctions. Instead, there may be juxtaposition of clauses, wherein inferences are made with regard to the propositional relationship between the clauses. There are only few examples of this form of subordination in the data gathered for the research. The extent of its occurrence is not yet known, nor whether it occurs in monolingual speech—the examples below are from bilinguals (Aymara—Spanish).

(STRV, 7) Y, se murió estaba caminando por otro lado yo buscando así para que se sane por ahí, ¿no?,

'And (when) she died I was looking elsewhere for something to help her get well, see?

(STRVI, 2) Entonces, ellos indican en el tiempo del explotación de los patrones, había familias que apellidan Mamanis, Quispes, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka,

'So, they indicate(d) (that) in the era of exploitation by the patrones, there were families whose surnames were Mamani, Quispe, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka.'

Beyersdorff (1986) has also noted an "absence of subordinate clauses introduced by que" (p. 35), in the narratives of José María Arguedas:

(BEY, 37) ¡Mentira encanto!,

¡Es mentira que sea encanto!'

'It's a lie that it's an enchantment!'

Muysken (1984) also found this structuring to be characteristic of Quechua - Spanish interlanguage in Ecuador.

### Conjunction

The sentence conjunction que may be replaced by the construction de que. This phenomenon, certainly a feature of other dialects, is a common one in AS as well—so much so that word mavins who wish to cure unseemly language behavior, write to the daily presses that "dequeísmo is a construction erroneously used" by persons of "diverse cultural levels" (Frías 1980), and proceed to offer linguistic solutions. Constructions such as

(STRVI, 12) Entonces, yo le decía "¿por qué lo han colocado Carabuco?", y ellos me decían de que "la gente de aquí ha salido," entonces, allí también se ha

puesto con este nombre 'Tarabuco' y no 'Carabuco',

'So, I asked (them) "why did you name it Carabuco?", and they told me that "the people left from here," so, there they used the (similar) name 'Tarabuco', and not 'Carabuco','

are very frequent in daily speech and across social and ethnic groups in AS. The following examples come from both Peruvian and Bolivian bilinguals and monolinguals, who represent the middle and lower class social groups of altiplano society.

(STRI, 211)

Creo de que . . . ,

'I believe that . . . ;

(STRVIII, 54)

Entonces el campesino me dijo de que "no me tocara aquí" ni siquiera le avisara al médico, para que le atienda su factura en una de las rodillas,

'So the campesino told me "don't touch me here", neither did he want me to tell the doctor so that he could attend the knee fracture.'

(STRIX, 65)

Ha hecho de que nosotros no somos ni su familia ni nada . . . ,

'He made (it so) that we aren't part of his family or anything . . . ;

(STRIX, 71)

Que estás pensando de que puede pasarme algo por el hecho de que estoy casada, cualquier cosa,

'That you're thinking that something could happen to me because I'm married, whatever.'

(STRIII, 113)

Yo pienso de que se origina este, esta vergüenza de, de hablar aymara, de eso,

'I think that this shame of speaking Aymara originates from that.'

Frías (1980) cites the examples

(FRI, 3) Dice de que volverá pronto,  
'X says that X will return quickly',

(FRI, 3) Me han contado de que salió temprano,  
'They told me that X left early.'

Frías also notes the occurrence of queísmo, in which the subordinated clause is not preceded by the prepositional de, such as

(FRI, 3) Estoy seguro que el muchacho no llevaba  
dinero,  
'I'm sure that the boy wasn't carrying money,'

although Frías notes that the construction is actually less frequent than the conjunction de que.

### Causation

Herrero (1969) discusses influence of the causative suffix in Quechua translated as some form of hacer + infinitive in the speech of Bolivians, as in

(HER, 39) Haz cocer estas papas con Juan,  
'Have Juan cook these potatoes.'

The question of indigenous language influences will be taken up more thoroughly in Chapter VIII. At this point it should be noted that the construction described by Herrero in his discussion of the Spanish of Cochabamba is very commonly employed throughout the AS dialect area. Frequently the forms occur as in the following:

(STRII, 35) Hemos hecho llamar a los mandones  
principalmente para que se reúna,  
'We had the authorities called principally so  
that (they) could meet';

(STRII, 34) Hemos hecho llegar los libros,



'We had the books arrive (i. e., we sent them)';

(STRX, 31) Entonces, viajo al valle, del valle llego con veinte llamas, hago llegar ya digamos veinte cargas,

'Well then, I travel to the valley, from the valley I arrive with 20 llamas, I cause to arrive then, let's say, 20 cargos';

(STRX, 8) . . . y bueno de allá sacamos ese trigo y maíz, lo hacemos moler . . . ,

'. . . and, well, from there we get that wheat can corn, we have it ground . . .';

(STRIII, 68) Por ejemplo, el anteaño pasado ha venido por solamente hacerse curar y es enfermisa,

'For example, year before last she came just to have herself treated, and she's very sick';

(STRIX, 61) Nunca hace tratar de preocupar por los problemas que podemos tener, yo, Amalia, o cualquiera de nosotros, ¿no?,

'Never does she try to concern (herself) with the problems that we may have, I, Amalia, or any of us, see?';

The following is taken from a written sample of AS:

(STRI, 239) Después oí también, algunos padres y madres de que no dejan hacer hablar aimara a sus hijos segun dichos,

'Afterwards I also heard (of) some parents who don't give up having their children speak Aymara, they say.'

While the construction hacer + infinitive in general is standard, it is often used in AS, as the examples illustrate, in contexts in which other types of constructions are preferred in SS. Also, the particular type of structure given by Herrero above, which includes the non-SS phrase con + person, is a feature

of speech throughout the dialect area, although it was not recorded for this research and it was not heard in the speech of monolinguals.

### Marking Customary Action

The verb saber is used in AS where other dialects more frequently use soler, 'to be accustomed to', in the construction saber + infinitive, as in:

- (STRI, 144)            Este toro sabe correr,  
                               'This bull runs (watch out!);'  
  
 (STRV, 36)            El bus sabe venir cada día,  
                               'The bus comes every day';  
  
 (STRV, 54)            Yo también sé cocinar a veces. Sí,  
                               'Also I sometimes I cook. Yes.'

### Suffixation

The forms listed below occur in altiplano Spanish as post-positioned grammatical elements which fulfill a variety of discourse functions. Laprade (1976 and 1981) also discusses these forms in his description of the Spanish of La Paz. Laprade's description is true of my data as well, and he is correct in his interpretation of the forms as "bound units which modify the meaning of the word or phrase to which they are suffixed" (1976: 77). The forms occur as they are presented here in the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals, in the middle and lower classes. Future research will determine the extent to which the AS forms occur in the speech of the upper classes.

### Word/Phrase Level

#### pues

The SS conjunction pues, 'as, since', has been transformed in AS to a particle which is suffixed to various parts of speech. The form occurs frequently as the phonetic variant [ps], and it is in this manifestation that the

identity of the form as a suffix is most obvious. Pues or -ps are very commonly attached to verbs - very frequently to commands, but also to question responses (sí, no, or substantive responses), question forms (¿para qué?, ¿por qué?) adverbials (especially nomás, ya, todavía), adjectivals (mucho, harto, etc.), object nouns, indefinite nouns (nada, nadie, etc.), the sentence suffix-like particle así, 'thus, like that', and to other elements which were not recorded for this research.

As Laprade (1976) notes the function of the particle varies considerably, and correlates highly with sentence intonation. Generally, as the full form pues, which tends to occur in speech which is somewhat moderated, the form functions as a politive, a softener, a polite emphatic. In the examples below, the English equivalent of emphasis is represented by italics:

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| (STRX, 167) | <p>Siempre en campo necesita <u>pues</u> la gente,</p> <p>'In the countryside the people still (or always) <i>need</i> (llamas)';</p>   |
| (STRXI, 15) | <p>Pero eso también yo creo, a pesar que no puedo explicar, ni sé exactamente como ha sido, pero me ha quedado, me ha quedado <u>pues</u> en el recuerdo muy profundamente, la forma de que soy yo ¿no?,</p> <p>'But I also believe that, in spite of the fact that I can't explain, nor do I know exactly how it was, but it has remained for me, it <i>has stayed</i> very deep in my memory, the person I am, see?';</p> |
| (STRX, 108) | <p>A veces mis tíos también algunos son malos, ¿no?, se aburrían <u>pues</u>, . . . ,</p> <p>'Sometimes some of my uncles are bad, see?, they got <i>bored</i> . . . .';</p>  |
| (STRI, 126) | <p>Invítale a la señorita Delia plátano, hablá<u>pues</u>,</p> <p>'Offer some banana to ms. Dale, <i>go ahead!</i>';</p>  |

- (STRI, 91) Dílepues,  
'Go on, tell her';
- (STRI, 26-27) ¿Para qué pues vas a vender?  
¡Para tener dinero pues!,  
'Why *on earth* are you going to sell (it)?  
To have *money* of course!';
- (STRI, 184) Hace cuatro siglos atrás, hablaban aymara pues,  
los jatunquillas,  
'Four centuries ago the Jatunquillas spoke  
*Aymara*.'

At times, the form uttered as [pwé:s] (with a lengthened vowel) is used as an exhortative, as in andá pues:s, 'go along, please, ok?' or 'come on, please go on, ok?' In many, perhaps in most, cases in which the full form appears, the politive function persists and softens the message, be it principally command, question, or emphasis, or any combination of these.

The emphatic sense of pues may extend over the whole message, in the sense of underscoring a particular point, as an exclamation, to make the reasoning clear, and so forth, as in

- (STRX, 62) Algunos compran diez quintales con lo que  
tienen, según lo que tienen ganado pues y  
algunos tienen harta ganado entons también  
compran harto,  
'Some (people) buy ten quintals with what they  
have, *depending on the livestock they have*,  
*that is* and some have a lot of livestock so they  
also buy a lot (of salt).'

In this construction we may say that pues is a particle attached to a sentence, or a phrase or clause, rather than a word particle. Additional examples of this include

(STRI, 25)            Para alegrarme pues,

*'In order to be happy!'*

Especially in the form -ps, the particle serves as a somewhat sharper emphatic, punctuating the speech of altiplano speakers as an exclamation point does on paper. The reduced suffix is highly assibilated, and is frequently but not exclusively used in rapid speech. It is often the variant heard when the speaker expresses irritation, frustration, and so forth, so that a command such as andá pues, 'go ahead, go on, ok?', becomes more imperative, a somewhat sharper command as andáps, 'go on, go!' However, the politive element remains attached to the semantic field of the particle in its reduced form, even given the stronger imperative implication. As Laprade (1976) notes, andá standing along without the politive suffix pues in any form is an imperative more brusque, more curt in character, than with it. The reduced form, however, is very common in rapid, unmonitored speech, and in this context does not seem necessarily to carry a different semantic load from the full form. Again, emphases or other meanings expressed by the particles are rendered in spoken English by intonation, and below, in italics. Examples include:

(STRI, 207)            Así nomásps Delia me va a apenar mucho no  
                              poderte ver,

*'Just so, Dale, I'm really going to miss you!';*

(STRI, 208)            Hay en la orilla casi pura aymara esps,

*'On the shores (of the lake) it is nearly pure  
Aymara.'*

(STRV, 90)            Sí, con esa parte han acabado, ahora ahí van a  
                              formarps con palos así, van a formar  
                              alrededorito . . . ,

'Yes, they've finished with that part (of the house), now (up) there they're going to use pieces of wood like so (*this is the work they're going to do next*), they'll arrange them around . . .';

(STRI, 154) No sé si hayps mujeres que trabajan con polleras,

'I don't know if there are women in traditional dress working (in offices) - *that would be news!* ';

(STRI, 93) ¡Yápsché!,

'Listen to me, do it now!';

(STRV, 35) Y, nosotros no le hemos dicho como estábamos un poquito chiquitos, y no le hemos dichps nada,

'And, we didn't tell her because we were small, and *we didn't say anything to her* !';

(STRX, 157) Antes siempre ¿no? la gente no veníaps aquí a la ciudad, nadaps,

'Before the people never *came* to the city, nothing (like that)!'

(STRIII, 34) El que está en este campo, ¿nops?

One who is in this field (of endeavor), isn't that right??

The full form also appears in contexts which are more like the traditional SS syntax usage rather than as a suffix; that is, it is preceded by a pause, but the meaning is not 'as, since', but rather closer to 'well':

(STRXI, 47) . . . usted ha vivido con su padre, en Caísa, pues ha estado también en Warisata . . . ,

' . . . you lived with your father in Caísa, well you were also in Warisata . . .';

(STRIII, 40) Entonces no sé si Dios quiere, pues, bueno, voy a pasar a otras secciones a otras areas más. . . ,

'So I don't know if God wills, well, well, I'll go (in)to other aspects, other areas . . . '

### nomás

Both Kany (1947) and Laprade (1976 and 1981) remark on the frequency of this particle in Bolivia, and its functioning as a limitative, as a reinforcer of modifiers, and as an emphatic or intensifier. Laprade's (1976) discussion is especially pertinent here. He notes that the form occurs in Paceño Spanish as a post-positive element only; this is true for my data as well. It is also the case that nomás may function as a suavizador, 'softener', at the same time as it performs any of the other three functions listed above.

As a limitative, in the sense of 'only' or 'just', nomás is found as in the following:

(STRI, 113) Es medio día de viaje nomás,

'It's only a half day trip';

(STRV, 34) "Así que esté nomás" también mi papá ha dicho,

' "Just let it be like that" my dad also said';

(STRV, 64) Yo eso nomás también quiero,

'Also I want only that.'

As an intensifier or emphatic, examples include:

(STRV, 31) Es mi tía nomás también,

'It's my *aunt* , too!';

(STRI, 49) Llévatelo nomás,

'Just take it!'

As a reinforcer of modifiers:

(STRIII, 58) Así, así entonces estamos tranquilo nomás,

'Like so, so we're pretty much content';

- (LAPI, 84) Chiquito nomás,  
'Just a small thing';
- (STRX, 111) Apenas nomás a veces la carga, estaba sobiendo la llama,  
  
'At times the cargo would barely get on the llama.'

siempre

Laprade (1976, 1981) also discusses the use of siempre, which, apart from transmitting its standard meaning as 'always' in other syntactic positions, as a post-positional particle in AS is frequently used to communicate the notions of surprise, continued intent or emphasis:

- (LAPI, 85) Aquí había estado siempre,  
'It was indeed here (and I hadn't realized it)!';
- (LAPI, 85) Nos hemos olvidado siempre,  
'We did forget after all!';
- (STRI, 137) Ese nombre creo que siempre era,  
  
'I believe it was that name! (I had heard it before but had forgotten about it until you mentioned it)';
- (STRV, 58) ¿Cuándo siempre se casarán, no?,  
'When will they marry?';
- (STRX, 160) He durmido como muerto siempre,  
'I slept like a corpse!'

The surprisal function of siempre, expressed in the first three examples above, is an echo of the data source category, carrying much of the same content load as does the pluperfect form when it is used as a surprisal.



In statements and in interrogatives, the particle siempre also takes the meaning, roughly, of 'yet, still', or 'still?', a request for affirmation carried in standard Spanish by ¿de veras? or ¿es cierto?; for example,

- (STRI, 132)            ¿Te vas a ir siempre?  
                               'Are you still going?;
- (STRI, 18)            ¿Sabes ir a Cochabamba siempre?  
                               'Do you still go to Cochabamba?;
- (STRIII, 8)            Yo tengo un hermano que siempre no me  
                               separaba con él,  
                               'I have a brother (from) whom I'm still not  
                               separated.'

### pero

Syntactically post-posed to phrases and clauses, pero functions as an objector, as in

- (STRI, 117)            No puedo pero,  
                               'But I can't do it';
- (LAPI, 86)            No me gusta pero,  
                               'But I don't like it';
- (LAPI, 86)            ¿Vas a tomar café pero?  
                               'You are going to have coffee though?.'

I have heard and used the form many times on the altiplano as it occurs in the latter example, with the sense of 'but aren't you going to do it?', implying 'but I want, hope that you do it', and so forth. As is the case for most other suffixed particles, pero at times can function as a suavizador, or 'softener', of the objection.

también

The conjoiner también has not undergone a semantic shift, but in AS it is frequently treated as a suffixed item :

(STRV, 64) Yo eso nomás también quiero,

'Also I only want that';

(STRX, 23) . . . buen también se puede morir los machos  
también, ya flaco ya no sirve también, siete  
años, seis años hay que venderlo ya. Sí,

' . . . well also the males can die also, so thin  
they aren't useful either, seven years, six years  
they have to be sold. Yes.'

-ito

The SS diminutive suffix -ito/a, especially when attached to adjectives or adverbs in imperatives but also on nominals, functions as a politive suffix, as in the following, from a newspaper advertisement:

(STRI, 99) Vecinita, Ud. que sale ¿podría comprármelo  
unas cebollas y tomates . . . ?,

'Neighbor, you who are going out, would you  
(please) be able to buy me some onions and  
tomatoes . . . ?'

The following examples were taken during an auto ride across the altiplano in Peru. The passengers, apart from engaging in discussion, would occasionally give directions to the driver, a Catholic priest, about where to drop them off. The priest would also occasionally ask the passengers to do certain things, using imperative structures. For example, when one of the passengers first entered the car, the priest asked:

(STRI, 140) Cierra la puerta un poquito más fuertecito,

'(Please) close the door a little bit harder.'

As the passengers neared their destinations, they would indicate these to the driver by expressions such as:

(STRI, 140)            [aksító] voy a bajar,  
                              'Right here I'll get off',

where the -ito functions both as a specifier and as a politive.

(STRI, 140)            Voy a bajar más abajito,  
                              'I'll get off a bit further down the road,  
                              please,'

and

(STRI, 140)            Dejáme ahícito Padre,  
                              'Please leave me right over there, Father.'

As a nominal suffix, -ito/a often expresses respect, at times cariño:

(STRVI, 1)            Lo poco que había escuchado através de los  
                              viejitos o ancianos que me contaron . . . ,  
                              'The little that I heard from the elderly, the old  
                              ones who told me . . . .'

In most conversations in which -ito/a is employed, a semantic overlay of politeness and friendliness accompanies the diminutive sense of the suffix; in contrast, -ito/a is generally not used in brusque or sharp language. The use of the suffix in the politive sense is a characteristic of speech in all social groups.

#### Phrase/Clause Level

##### Linking

The terms entonces, 'then, so then, well then', así, 'thus, like so, like that', and (less frequently) y, 'and', occur with very high frequency as discourse connectors, introducing the idea or set of ideas which follow a given statement. Entonces, perhaps because of the general length of the word

and because it occurs so often in both rapid and moderated speech, has several variants which reflect characteristic vowel dropping in AS, including /entons/, /ɲtons/, /tonse/, /ɲse/. In some of the narratives recorded for this research, the linker appears to occur more frequently in more rapid speech. Narratives II and X are examples of this (see Appendices). In narrative V, the speaker utilizes the terms y and así as other speakers employ entonces. The following examples are drawn from these and other narratives, although the overall rhythm and sequencing of the forms as connecting elements are best understood by examination of the entire texts.

(STR II, 8-9,  
25-30)

Entonces para que no haiga ese problema los mandones . . . obsequió un pequeño terreno para la construcción de seis o siete piezas.

Entonces faltaba para el techar. . . . Y entonces esto ha sido una sorpresa. Allá hemos llegado un paquete grande y para el techado de las piezas. Le hemos dado una sorpresa ya a los autoridades. Entons ellos dijeron "¿por qué?", a veces uno dice, "estamos formando una mesa directiva, para el bien del pueblo. Pero tantas otras personas habían hecho lo mismo . . . entons no había nada para el pueblo." Entons pensaban que los campesinos nosotros lo que estamos haciendo, iba a ser lo mismo. . . .',

'Well then, in order not to have that problem, the authorities . . . gave a small piece of land for the construction of 6 or 7 rooms. Then the roofing was lacking. . . . And so this was a surprise. We took a large package there, for the roofing of the rooms. We gave the authorities a surprise. So then they said, "why?, at times someone said 'we're organizing an executive board for the community welfare.' But so many others did the same thing . . . so then there wasn't anything for the community." Well then they thought that we campesinos, what we were doing, was going to be the same';

(STRVIII, 2-8)

Entonces allí era el mes de marzo, cuando la lluvias se aseca más, un campesino que se llamaba Facundo, ha sufrido una caída . . . . Entonces este campesino, era muy bueno, era colaborador con los maestros rurales, entonces yo quise ayudarlo, llevándole en la bicicleta a un centro de salud de la Fuerza Naval en Tiquina. Entonces el campesino me dijo de que "no me tocara aquí" ni siquiera que le avisara al médico . . . . Entonces los campesinos ¿qué han hecho? . . . '

'Then there it was the month of March, when the rain doesn't come down quite as bad, a campesino called Facundo suffered a fall. . . . So this campesino, he was a very good person, a collaborator with the rural teachers, well then I wanted to help him, to carry him on the bicycle to the clinic at the Navy Base in Tiquina. So then the campesino told me "don't touch me here", neither did he want me to tell the doctor . . . . So then the campesinos, what did they do? . . . ';

(STRV, 4-16)

Y cuando se murió mi mamá, ya no nosotros, ya todo nos hemos. . . nos hemos ocupado y muy triste ¿no? Y llorando así. Y, se murió estaba caminando por otro lado yo buscando así para que se sane. . . . Y ya así. Ya han enterrado, y no me han dejando ni ver a mi mamá, sí, y de poco tiempo, ya mi papá se había buscado otra mujer, sí',

'And when my mom died, then everything we didn't. . . we (were) preoccupied and very sad, no? And crying, like that. And (when) she died I went around like looking for (something) to cure her. . . . And thus like that. Then they buried (her), and they didn't allow me not even to see my mom, yes, and after a little while then my dad looked for another wife, yes.'

As connectors, entonces, así, y, or combinations of these, are often used as fillers, elements which indicate that the speaker is not yet giving up the floor, is planning to say more.

### Summarizing

A common discourse feature in AS involves not only the discourse connector or linker, discussed above, but also the use of summarizers, principally así but also entonces, or combinations such as así entonces, or y así. As a summarizer, these forms occur primarily at the end of the statement to which they refer, as in

- (STRV, 40)            Sí, y nos ha dicho "ella está agarrando" así,  
'Yes, and (they) told us "she has (it)" like that.'
- (STRX, 10-12)        Entonces, depende bueno del tamaño ¿no?  
Cuando es bueno entonces también ellos piden  
como cinco arrobas ¿no? entonces. Cuando es  
bueno también igual entonces, y traemos eso . .  
' ,  
  
'Well then, it depends on the size, see? When  
it's good well then they ask for like 5 arrobas,  
right? so then. When it's good the same so  
then, and we carry that . . . '

When a form such as así or entonces is used as a type of summarizer for a concept or piece of information, it may also serve as a bridge or connector to the following speech, as in the second example above. Thus the functions here specified as linker and summarizer may be merged.

### Confirming

A tremendous amount of discourse in AS is literally peppered with utterances such as ¿no? (rising intonation), for 'right?', 'see?', 'ok?', or ¿no es cierto?, or the variant /nóssiérto/ (again, rising intonation), 'isn't that right?', and sometimes ¿ya?, 'yes?' The use of such utterances is highly interactive; that is, the speaker continues to ascertain just how the other interlocutors are responding to the message, whether the message is being understood, and so forth. And, not surprisingly, the listeners are generally

obliged to respond in some way—through either verbal or non-verbal cues to the speaker that they are attentive, that they understand and so forth. I have seen conversation stopped, discussion interrupted, topics switched from the speaker's point to the listener's not having responded (as in 'what's wrong, why aren't you listening or commenting?'), with the failure to respond to these elements, which are here termed confirmers. Examples of the use of confirmers were recorded in the speech of monolinguals and bilinguals throughout the research area, and in all social groups.

- (STRVI, 3)                   Entonces, estes señores no obedecieron a lo patron, y fueron trasladados muy lejos de aquí, ¿no?, de su comunidad,
- 'Well then, these gentlemen didn't obey the patron, and they were relocated very far from here, see?, from their community';
- (STRIII, 33-34)           Es que quiero aprender bastante y además está relacionado mucho con el turismo y uno que no sabe ese puede fracasar. El que está en ese campo entons ¿nops?,
- 'It's that I want to learn a lot and furthermore it's very much related to tourism, and one who doesn't know that can fail. One who is in that field, that is, right?
- (STRIX, 24)               . . . entonces los tres profesores me han invitado, ¿ya?,
- ' . . . so then the three professors invited me, see?'
- (STRXI, 28)               Yo tengo muy mala memoria, además yo no he vivido en La Paz, entonces, me he desvinculado totalmente con esa gente, ¿no?,
- 'I have a very bad memory, furthermore I haven't lived in La Paz, so then I've completely lost touch with those people, no?'

(STRIV, 7-8) Teníamos que quedarnos a veces en las noches solos nosotros. Y la comida también porque salía a veces ella en la mañana y nosotros teníamos que ver como comer, nos cierto?,

'At times we had to stay by ourselves at night. And meals, too, because at times she would leave in the morning and we had to see about eating, right?;

(STRX, 9) Hay algunos bonitos, más gordos, muy altos ¿no? hay otros muy chiquitos ¿no?,

'There are some (llamas) pretty ones, sturdier, very large, right?, there are very small ones, see?

Confirmers generally fall after the word, phrase or clause for which the speaker is 'checking' listener response, often occupying the place of or functioning as suffixes.

### Topicalization

Topicalization refers to the process of identifying or marking the principle feature of an utterance from the speaker's perspective, or the specific answer to a question, or the information in an utterance that the speaker wishes to foreground for some reason. In AS topicalization occurs in several ways: through fronting, i. e., bringing the information in question to the head or initial position within the utterance; by using linguistic markers such as articles, or emphasizeers such as nomás or pues (discussed above); and in writing, by the use of commas.

### Fronting

Peruvian and Bolivian linguists have described the fronting of certain parts of speech of highlanders in those countries (Cerrón-Palomino 1988, Lozano 1975, Escobar 1972, Minaya and Luján 1982, Mendoza 1988): adverbials are brought to the sentence head, as in



- (CER, 68)            Al plaza está yendo,  
                          'X is going to the plaza',
- (MIL, 274)           En ahí dormíamos,  
                          'We slept there',
- (MEN, 11)            Yo de nada no me enojo,  
                          'Me, nothing makes me angry';

and verbal objects, as in

- (CER, 68)            Pan voy comprar,  
                          'I'm going to buy bread'.
- (LOZ, 300)           A Juan conocí,  
                          'I met Juan',
- (LOZ, 300)           A Juan he pegado fuerte,  
                          'I hit Juan hard'.
- (ESCI, 110)           La venta hace su esposa,  
                          'His wife is doing the selling'.
- (MIL, 274)           . . . verduras están cultivando,  
                          '. . .they're cultivating vegetables';

Bilingual speech behavior described by Minaya and Luján (1982) includes, in addition to the word order shifts resulting in structures such as object-verb and adverb-verb, indicated above, adjective-noun and genitive-noun constructions, as in

- (MIL, 274)           Tu chiquito oveja véndeme,  
                          'Sell me your little sheep';
- (MIL, 274)           De una señora su frazada mi papá sacó,  
                          'My dad took a señora's blanket';

Cerrón-Palomino (1988) mentions fronting of subordinate clauses before main clauses, for example

- (CER, 68)                    En lo que estaba jugando se cayó,  
                                   'He fell down while he was playing.'

In the data gathered for this research, fronting was a common phenomenon throughout the research area, and among all social groups. Fronted elements of speech (words, phrases, clauses) are those which the speaker chooses to foreground, highlight, underscore, or simply place in initial position because the element is prior in the speech event, perhaps as the response to a question. In the following examples, the topicalized elements are underlined:

- (STRV, 9)                    Con parto ha muerto mi mamá, con parto,  
                                   'In childbirth my mom died, in childbirth',
- (STRV, 42)                    Sí, no hay aquí, para saber quien agarra, y saben  
                                   los adivinos, adivínans,  
                                   'Yes, there aren't any here to know who took  
                                   (it), and they know, the fortunetellers, they  
                                   divine!'
- (STRIV, 26)                    Hasta septiembre nos duró los doscientos  
                                   dólares y luego no, no teníamos,  
                                   'Until September the \$200 lasted us and then,  
                                   we didn't have (any)',
- (STRIV, 20)                    Como una extranjera se fue,  
                                   'Like a foreigner she left',
- (STRVIII, 38)                    Sí, cojeaba un poco, pero, no ha sido intervenido  
                                   por médico, por un médico de la academia, que  
                                   es la universidad, sino la curación se han hecho  
                                   ellos mismos,  
                                   'Yes, she limped a little, but, it wasn't treated  
                                   by a doctor, a doctor of the academy, which is  
                                   the university, but they did the treatment  
                                   themselves',

- (STRI, 71)                    Sí, del José he comprado un poncho,  
'Yes, from José I bought a poncho',
- (STRI, 56)                    ¿Ropa compraste?,  
'You bought clothes?',
- (STRI, 59)                    ¿De la calle Tumusla compraste ropa?,  
'On Tumusla Street you bought clothes?',
- (STRI, 57)                    ¿Tú ropa compraste?,  
'You bought clothes?',
- (STRII, 19)                    . . . porque allá generalmente solamente  
primaria hay,  
' . . . because over there generally there's only an  
elementary school',
- (STRV, 64)                    Yo eso nomás también quiero,  
'and that is all I want',
- (STRX, 22)                    . . . los que ya son viejos entonces hay que  
venderlo también tonces,  
' . . . those which are old then, well then you  
have to sell (them), too, then',
- (STRVIII, 8)                    Entonces los campesinos ¿qué han hecho?,  
'Well then, the campesinos, what did they do?',
- (STRVI, 5)                    Como en este tiempo no había ni movilidad, era  
todo caminar, entons ellos los que han sido  
trasladados, no podían retornar,  
'As in those times there wasn't any  
transportation, it was all walking, so then  
those who had been relocated couldn't return';

- (STRIX, 36) Pero, mira, por parte de mi esposo tengo la familia . . . por parte de mi él va a ser el primer. . . entonces lo va a ser un poco difícil, estoy viendo,
- 'But, look, on my husband's side I have family. . . on my side he's going to be the first (grandbaby) . . . so then I see (that) it's going to be a little difficult.'

- (STRI, 137) Ese nombre creo que siempre era,

'I believe it was that name':

- (STRI, 160) Este para conejo era. Cocina era,

'This was for guinea pigs. It was a kitchen.'

A raised intonation, amounting to paralinguistic stress, often accompanies the fronting of topicalized elements in AS.

### Articles

Hardman-de-Bautista (1982) notes the use of definite articles with proper names, such as el Papi, 'Dad', la Rosa, 'Rose'. In AS, such usage implies the topicalization of names of persons, rather than a deprecation of the individual, as is the case in other dialects when articles are used with proper names. Hardman-de-Bautista also notes that "the reference (is not) limited by social class" (p. 150); indeed, the usage was heard throughout the research area, among monolinguals and bilinguals, and across all social groups. Not a great many examples of the use of articles with proper names were recorded for this research due to the nature of the topics covered in the recorded narratives. The two exceptions are provided as the first two examples of the phenomenon. Additional examples come from written samples: a letter received from the research area and a student paper done in that area:

- (STRIX, 54) Y además quiero decirte que la Amalia sigue estudiando, el Raúl ingresó a la universidad en sociología . . . ,
- 'And I also want to tell you that Amalia continues studying, Raúl entered the university in sociology. . .';
- (STRI, 12-13) Salen sábado en la mañanita, en aquí están a las seis de la tarde. Con vos más, vos, Teodora, y la Delia,
- 'They leave Saturday(s) in the morning, they're here at 6 in the afternoon. With you also, you, Teodora, and Dale';
- (STRI, 250) La Andrea también continúa son su proyecto y viaja mucho al campo,
- 'Andrea also continues with her project and travels a lot to the countryside.'
- (STRI, 248) Al Tupak Katari agarrando llevarón (*sic*) a una cueva,
- 'Capturing Tupak Katari, they took (him) to a cave.'

At times these topicalizers + proper name appear to fall under the same semantic net as the pronouns tú or vos: signifying an informal, friendly relationship, closeness, even endearment.

### Commas

Sentence topics—generally syntactic subjects—are clearly marked by comma placement in written AS. Hardman-de-Bautista (1982) refers to the placement of commas in the written language, such as

- (HAR, 150) Juan de Dios Yapita, es uno de los más . . . ,
- 'Juan de Dios Yapita is one of the most . . . '.

Given that such patterns may reflect habits of thinking related to speech, it would be useful to examine written samples for confirmation of the

phenomenon throughout the dialect area. For this research such data was taken from the La Paz area and from other urban centers in Bolivia only; therefore future research will determine the Peruvian patterns. Examples include the following, taken from a local newsletter entitled 'Perla del Ande', from the community of Sorata, in the province of Larecaja. The English translations reflect the topicalization in the underlining:

(STRI, 249)                      Sorata, fue denominada NOBLE VILLA DE ESQUIBEL el 3 de enero de 1827 en memoria al valiente patriota JUAN CRISOSTOMO ESQUIBEL quelluchara (*sic*) contra el yugo español junto al clérigo Ildefonso de las Muñecas,

'Sorata was named Noble Villa of Esquibel on January 3, 1827, in memory of the valiant patriot Juan Crisostomo Esquibel who fought against the Spanish yoke together with the priest Ildefonso de las Muñecas';

The next example is taken from an article in El Diario, La Paz (reproduced in Appendix I). Daily newspapers such as El Diario regularly contain this pattern of comma placement.

(STRI, 226)                      El gobierno del Perú, tiene un plan de integración latinoamericana, en lo que respecta a la industria y el comercio de ambos países . . . ,

'The government of Perú has a plan of Latin American integration with respect to the industry and commerce of both countries . . . .'

The following examples are from a writing sample from a student in native language studies at UMSA in La Paz.

(STRI, 213)                      La zorra, furiosa fue corriendo en busca de la gansa,

'The furious fox was running in search of the goose';



Adv  
'Right here is X's hostel',

Adv

where the standard would be

Su pensión es acá nomás;

and

(MIL, 284) . . . y un enanito corriendo viene corriendo,  
Adv Adv  
'... and a dwarf comes running,'

where the standard would be

y un enanito viene corriendo.

Further,

(MIL, 284)      Me tenía que regresarme a mi casa,  
Pro                  Pro  
'I had to return to my house',

for the standard

Tenía que regresar(me) a mi casa

Mendoza (1988) mentions repetition of indirect objects in Pateño Spanish, as in

(MEN, 10)      Todos esos me han venido a manifestarme sus  
Pro                          Pro  
declaraciones de amor,

'All those came to express their declarations of love for me.'

In the data recorded for this research, repetition occurs often, especially in the speech of bilinguals, but the phenomenon is present in the speech of monolinguals as well. In particular, verbs and direct and indirect object pronouns are repeated more often than other elements. A repeated verb often falls in the sentence final position, as described by Minaya and Luján (1982). No repetition of adverbials is present in the recorded data, but such



constructions were heard repeatedly throughout the research area. Examples include:

- (STRX, 64)           ... es una estancia cincuenta familia es,  
                           '. . . it's an estate (of) fifty families';
- (STRIX, 45)           Te estoy hablándote yo de acá,  
                           'I'm speaking to you from here';
- (STRX, 77)           Ellos viajan con los ochenta viajan,  
                           'They travel with eighty they travel.'

A repeated element may fall within the same phrase or clause in which the first expression of the element occurs, as in the examples above, or it may form part of a distinct phrase or clause, as in the following. And note in the example which follows that, apart from the triplicated subject 'family', there is the duplication of the verb vivimos at the end of the utterance which gives the speech the characteristic rhythm that is present in much of AS, particularly in bilingual speech:

- (STRX, 68)           Allá vivimos nosotros pura familia familia  
                           familia vivimos,  
                           'There we live, pure family, family, family we  
                           live.'

In the following example, the duplication of the clause es para hombre, 'it's for men', is also characteristic:

- (STRX, 93)           Es para hombre siempre es, es para hombre. . . ,  
                           'It's for men it always is, it's for men. . . .'

Repetition also occurs in the written language, most frequently involving clitics, as in the following given in a letter from the research area:

- (STRI, 218)           Lastimosamente no la he podido conocerla  
                           quizá esté muy ocupada,

'Unfortunately I haven't been able to meet her,  
perhaps she's very busy.'

Below are examples of repetitions in speech which do not involve  
duplicates of specific elements necessarily but which mirror their  
grammatical functions and meanings:

(STRV, 56)            Es mi papa [es] (= está)<sup>2</sup> trabajando en allá.  
Sí,

'That's my dad working there. Yes',

where the second es is considered to be the phonetic realization of está, where  
the final vowel has been dropped and the final /t/ is assimilated to the  
following consonant in trabajando. Also:

(STRI, 208)            Hay en la orilla casi pura aymara esps,  
  
'On the shore(s) of the lake) there are nearly all  
Aymara people';

(STRV, 79)            Del anteaño pasado estabaps en La Paz es,  
  
'Since year before last he's been in La Paz';

(STRIX, 48)            . . . que con lo que me han dicho contándome  
me han dicho que, que es linda ella, ¿no?,  
  
' . . . that with what they told me, telling me,  
they told me that, that she's pretty, no?';

(STRX, 64)            . . . nosotros somos [ð] de familia Cañari, yo soy  
Cañari, mi apellido ntons familia Cañari somos  
unos casi cinquenta somos de un este nomás de,  
[i] una estancia . . . ,

(STRVIII, 2)            Entonces allí era el mes de marzo, cuando las  
lluvias se asecaba más, un campesino. . . ha  
sufrido una caída. . . al bajar en una cuesta que  
se llama Larisani, bajando la bajada de San  
Pedro de Tiquina,

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<sup>2</sup>cf. Chapter IV on AS phonology.

'So then there it was the month of March, when  
the rains aren't as heavy, a campesino. . .  
suffered a fall . . . on descending a slope called  
Larisani, descending the slope of San Pedro de  
Tiquina.'

Repetition at times appears to be employed for purposes of emphasis; however, not all repetitions are manifestations of the same grammatical or semantic processes, inasmuch as they occur in areas of syntactic relations which are quite different.

## CHAPTER VIII

### AYMARA SUBSTRATE INFLUENCE

This chapter takes up the question of substrate (or adstrate) influence on the phonology and grammar of AS. Given that the research was conducted in a geographic region in which the Aymara people have been the dominant indigenous culture for more than a millenium, the possibility of influence from that language and culture on AS is considered. The areas of possible influence by Aymara language and culture are compared to the grammatical and phonological patterns discussed more fully in the preceding chapters.

'Influence' may range across many directions of language use, and may involve phenomena such as a reinforcement or strengthening of specific existing linguistic patterns of the influence-receiving language, or the introduction of semantic nuances through contact, resulting in a rearrangement of even "the more loosely patterned domains" of linguistic structure (Weinreich 1979 [1953]: p. 1), such as syntax, in the influence-receiving language. When there is a correspondence between particular forms of Aymara and AS, often there is only a loose functional equivalence; there is usually no direct one-to-one correspondence between forms and their functions across the two languages. On the contrary, influence patterns may be subtle and complex as they are woven throughout the levels of a language by speakers who find at times unpredictable ways of using and combining the varied resources of their different languages to express themselves. This

analysis does not presume to cover all the existing areas of interlingual influence from Aymara to Spanish, but some of the more apparent and suggestive (to this author) possibilities are included here. The relevant Aymara structures are discussed below under 'Phonological System', 'Grammatical Structure', 'Discourse Structure', and 'Postulates'. All information regarding the Aymara language is taken from Hardman et al. (1988), Hardman (n. d.), Briggs (1988) and from Martin (1975).

### Phonological System

#### Vowels

Vowel dropping is a principle morphophonemic device of the Aymara language. As Hardman (n. d.) describes: "Final vowels of words which are medial in a sentence will be dropped entirely, except in certain phrase structures such as modifier plus noun where the modifier retains its vowel" (p. 37). Further, sentence final vowels are dropped entirely after certain consonants, or devoiced after voiceless consonants. Also, word final vowels occurring within a sentence which are retained due to morphophonemic rules will devoice if their immediate phonetic environment is two voiceless consonants (Martin 1975: 40).

As indicated in Chapter IV, vowel dropping and devoicing are features of AS. To briefly summarize: Laprade found deletion and dropping of mid and low vowels common in unstressed syllables (in Paceño Spanish), and in the environment of preceding voiceless consonants and before /s/ (1976: 24). He also noted that slower speech and emphasis tend to diminish vowel reduction (dropping or devoicing). Hundley (1983) found the voiceless consonant environment to be the primary linguistic condition for vowel reduction in Cuzqueño Spanish. He also found social class to be an important variable in the phenomenon of vowel reduction: Devoicing or dropping of

vowels is most characteristic in working class speech, and least characteristic in upper-middle class speech. In the course of this study, the phenomenon was encountered in the speech of all social groups, but there is no indication of the frequencies of occurrence within social groups. As vowel dropping is characteristic of other dialects of Spanish, Aymara influence may be said to reinforce, but not be considered a unique source, of the pattern of vowel reduction in AS.

### Consonants

As indicated in Chapter IV, there is a retention of /y/ and /ʎ/ in AS. Given that the distinction was a feature of at least some of the Spanish of the Conquest, and that the distinction is also made in the Aymara language, it seems reasonable to assume that the substrate has again served as a reinforcing influence, in this case on the retention of an older Spanish form. AS is also noted for retention of consonants in almost all environments, with the exception of intervocalic /d/ for some speakers. This is another phenomenon which may be reinforced by similar processes which occur in Aymara. Martin notes that consonants, which carry most of the functional load of the morphophonemic system of Aymara, are always very clearly articulated (1975).

### Grammatical Structure

#### Gender and Number

As indicated in Chapters V and VI, the grammatical categories of gender and number are handled somewhat differently in AS than they are in SS; for example, it is very common for the clitic lo to be utilized in reference to any nominal direct object, even one which may be otherwise categorized as feminine or plural. The following statement from García and Otheguy is

representative of characterizations of Andean patterns of gender and number marking from the literature on syntactic research in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador:

(T)his phenomenon is part of a larger dislocation of the entire pattern of gender marking. This dislocation is manifested in what from the perspective of general Spanish is the omission of articles, their use with words of the wrong gender, and the failure to make demonstratives and other adjectives agree with their nouns (1983: 120).

To briefly summarize the data: The morphological categories affected relative to gender marking are clitics, nouns-articles and nouns-modifiers; and relative to number marking, clitic agreement with referent, nouns-modifiers, increase in numbers of mass nouns, and nouns-verbs. The strongest patterns appear to be in the use of the clitic *lo* as an invariant form of the direct object, and the use of masculine noun modifiers for feminine nouns, especially but not exclusively when they are further from the nominal in question. The AS patterns are generally stronger in the speech of bilinguals, but are not absent in monolingual speech.

The differences between the altiplano dialect and other dialects of Spanish may well signal a different point of view on these matters, which is that the notion of agreement in these areas is relatively unimportant. Mendoza (1988), in a report of his research on Paceño Spanish, proposes that we consider these patterns as representative of a different system of concord:

. . . estos casos tradicionalmente llamados de discordancia pueden ser tratados como manifestaciones de una nueva forma de concordancia. Es decir estaríamos hablando de la substitución de una forma de concordancia por otra. . . Esta nueva forma de concordancia, insistimos, puede ser considerada como característica preponderante de la variedad popular del castellano paceño (p. 13).

In Aymara, there is no grammatical category of either gender or number, although number appears to be coming into use in the speech of bilinguals, perhaps due to Spanish influence, via the nominal suffix {-naka}, which originally indicated 'several', and via the increased use of the verbal derivational suffix {-p-}, which indicates plurality of subject person, object person, or both. Thus it is likely that bilingualism in Aymara and Spanish produced the patterns indicated above, and have been incorporated into the speech of some monolinguals—especially those who have learned their native language in the proximity of bilingual speakers.

#### Possessive and Locative Marking

Rodríguez (1982), in a discussion of the 'redundant' possessive in the Spanish of Peru, notes that constructions such as su casa de Juan, 'Juan's house', respects standard Spanish word order. Further, Rodríguez finds historical antecedents for these structures in archaic Spanish documents from the 11th through the 16th centuries, and notes that the construction is current in Spain today.

A more direct influence from Quechua can be seen in the phrasing of de Juan su casa, which reflects both Quechua word order and the double possessive marking of the Quechua genitive. For example, in the following

(ROD, 118)	<u>de</u> Juan <u>su</u> amiga,
	hwampa <u>pa</u> amig <u>an</u> mi,
	'Juan's friend',

the first line is from Ayacucho Spanish, the second is Quechua, with the same meaning. Possession markers are underscored in both phrases, indicating parallel construction of the Spanish to the Quechua.



Rodríguez' discussion is applicable to the case of Aymara influence on AS. An Aymara construction<sup>1</sup> similar to the Quechua one provided above, with possessive markers underlined, would be

Juwantin utapa,

Juwanti- = 'Juan'

-n < -na = possessor

uta- = 'house'

-pa < 3rd person marker on possessed

where the construction literally reads

'Juan-de casa-su',

'Juan-of house-his', or 'Juan's house.'

The AS pattern of locative marking (en aquí, en ahí, en allá) also reflects substrate construction. Aymara uses the nominal locative suffix -na, as in

(BRI, 227)

utann,

uta = 'house'

-n < -na = locative marker

'en (la) casa',

'in (the) house.'

Following this pattern, '(in) here' would be

akann,

aka = 'here'

-n < -na = locative marker.

The parallel structure in AS is

en aquí,

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<sup>1</sup>Note that in the examples of Aymara presented below, the phenomenon of vowel dropping, especially in word final position, as in -na > -n, occurs frequently.

usually best glossed simply as

'here',

where an analogy is made between the preposition en, attached to the adverbial locative, in AS, and the Aymara locative suffix -na.

### Transitivity and Object Marking

The relationship between transitivity of verbs and verbal object marking may derive from substrate influence. Many verbs in AS are treated as both transitive and intransitive at the same time, or randomly, where SS would call for one or the other. Likewise, patterns for verbal object marking, involving either the nominal object or a clitic, consist of either deleting the verbal object from the utterance where a transitive verb in SS calls for explicit object(s), or marking it more than once where SS would only use one object reference. These phenomena—the transitive/intransitive treatment of the verb, and manifestation of the verbal object—are obviously two sides of the same coin. Both patterns are found in monolingual as well as bilingual speech in AS. It is likely that underlying these patterns is the fact that Aymara verbs are all potentially transitive; that is, inflectional suffixes on the verb indicate not only subject but complement person as well, as in churtwa, 'I gave (something) to X', where {-ta} (here reduced to /-t-/) equals first person subject, and third person complement. Furthermore, many Aymara verbs, like chura-, 'to give', have inherent direct objects. That is, chura- means 'for someone to give something to someone.' As a consequence, depending on context, not only subject but also object nominals may be deleted from Aymara surface structure. The specific processes involved in object and verb relationships are not copied in AS, but the general pattern is there in the handling of verbs as both transitive and intransitive, and causing objects to surface or not, in constructions which are quite distinct from SS.

### Verb Constructions: *saber* + Infinitive and *hacer* + Infinitive

Verbal constructions such as sabe venir frecuentemente, 'he usually comes often', (many dialects use soler, 'to be accustomed to', for this use of saber) or hacemos llegar los libros, 'we're sending/bringing the books', are not unknown in other dialects of Spanish. However they are frequent and very productive in AS, in both monolingual and bilingual speech, and in bilingual translations from Aymara to Spanish. For example,

(STRI, 14)                    ¿Sabes comer chicharron?,  
                                      'Do you eat chicharron?,

is the translation given for the Aymara

Chicharron manq'iriritati,

where the nominalizing verbal suffix {-iri-} functions to convert a verb to an actor who habitually does the action indicated by the verb root (Briggs 1988: 191). The definition

(STRI, 89)                    hacer comprar algo con alguien,  
                                      'have/cause someone to buy something',

was given as the translation of the Aymara infinitive form

alayaña,

where {-ya-} is a verbal derivational suffix meaning 'cause someone to do' the activity indicated by the root to which it is suffixed. Thus functional analogies are drawn between AS saber as 'habitual or customary action' and the Aymara suffix {-iri-} as 'one who habitually or customarily does the action'; and between hacer in AS as 'to cause' action, and {-ya-} as an Aymara verbal causative suffix.

### Discourse Structure

Discussed below are elements of the discourse structure, at the sentence level or higher, which were presented in Chapter VIII and which appear to

have been influenced in some way by interaction between Spanish and the substrate Aymara. These include the processes of suffixation, topicalization, and duplication.

### Suffixation

Inflectional and derivational suffixes carry a heavy semantic load at the morphological and syntactic levels in Aymara, in all grammatical categories (see Hardman et al. 1988). The process of suffixation is primary in the language, and it is not surprising that it has been replicated in various ways in AS, as indicated in Chapter VII. Provided below is a summary of the suffixed forms that occur in AS and their equivalents in Aymara.

### Emphatics, politives, objector, and aggregator

The forms nomás, pues, pero, también, and siempre, generally as 'suffixed' either to word or phrase and sentence level constructions, all have at least rough equivalents in Aymara suffixes. These are most clearly seen in translations from Aymara to Spanish, where the basic values can be established, although the AS uses are not exactly those of the Aymara forms. For example, the Aymara phrase

- (STRI, 6)                      . . . jisk'achxakiwa,  
    jisk'a = 'little, small'  
    -ch<-cha- = verbalizer & causative  
    -xa- = completive, 'completely'  
    -k<-ki = limitative, 'nomás'  
    -i = 3rd to 3rd person inflection  
    -wa = personal knowledge suffix (data source)

is translated by a bilingual speaker as

- ' . . . les rebajan nomás.'  
 ' . . . they simply belittle them.'

It is clear that the AS nomás as a suffixed limitative parallels function and distribution of the Aymara suffix {-ki}.

As indicated in Chapter VII, pues as a suffix generally serves as a softener of imperatives or statements; it may also serve an exclamatory function, and at times this has a somewhat negative, but still polite, tone. The polite and softener pues, which is suffixed to words and also to phrases and clauses in AS, functions very much as the sentence suffix {-ya} in Aymara which signals courtesy, and attenuates the effect of messages—as a command softener, for example. The following example from Aymara with the Spanish translation is taken from Hardman et al. (1988):

(HARII, 284)	Kimsaniruy churita,
	Kimsa = 'three'
	-ni = enumerator
	-ru = relational
	-y <-ya = polite
	chur- = 'to give', root
	-ita = 2nd to 1st person verbal inflection;

translated from Aymara to Spanish as,

'Démelo pues por tres, por favor,'

'Give it to me please for three, please.'

Both the Aymara {-ya} and AS pues may be found attached to nouns, verbs, and other parts of speech. Some bilingual speakers find another analogy to pues in the use of the long vowel, {-"},<sup>2</sup> which, as a sentence suffix, serves an exclamatory function in Aymara (Hardman et al. 1988: 287). An example in the two languages would be:

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<sup>2</sup>Juan de Dios Yapita M., personal communication, 1986.

(STRI, 27)

Qullqiniñataki,

qullqi = 'money'

-ni = 'one who possesses'

-ña = infinitive suffix, verbalizer

-taki = 'in order to'

-¨ = exclamatory

'Para tener dinero pues!',

'In order to have money, of course!'

Another function of suffixed pues corresponds more directly to the Aymara suffix {-raki} (see below). The meaning here may be roughly glossed as a polite scolder or challenger (see Hardman et al. 1988: 275); examples come from Juan Yapita (personal communication, 1986) and Hardman (1982):

(STRI, 26)

Kunatakirak aljätasti,

kuna = interrogative 'what'

-tak &lt; -taki = purposeful 'for'

-rak < raki = polite challenger, 'pues'

alja- = 'to sell', verb stem

-¨ta = 2nd to 3rd person future verbal inflection

-sti = marking connection to previous reference

translated to AS as:

'Para qué pues vas a vender?',

'What on earth are you going to sell (it) for?'

The AS objector pero, suffixed to phrases and clauses, has been described in analogy with the objector function of the Aymara independent suffix {-raki} (see Laprade 1976: 87). As Laprade and Hardman et al. (1988)

note, this Aymara suffix serves many functions, and its meaning is somewhat difficult to pin down. The most basic significance of {-raki} is as an aggregator, translated as también, 'also', but it is also used as an objector, i. e. raising an objection to a statement or action which occurred previously. An example from Hardman et al. (1988) is:

(HARII, 276)	Aymar parlxarak <sup>u</sup> tasä,
	Aymar < aymara = Aymara language
	parl- = 'speak', verb root
	-xa- = 'completive' derivation suffix
	-rak < -raki = objector
	-ta = 2nd to 3rd person verbal inflection
	-sa = sentence suffix, contrary marker
	-¨ = exclamatory

translated by Hardman et al. (1988) as:

'Pero ¡Ud. ya habla Aymara!'

'But you already speak Aymara!'

although more frequently pero occurs as a suffixed item, as in

(HARI, 151)	¡Ud. ya habla Aymara <u>pero</u> !'
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As indicated above, {-raki} frequently functions as an aggregative suffix in Aymara, translated as también. The distribution of también in AS often matches the suffixing pattern of the Aymara {-raki}, especially in bilingual speech, and at times where SS would not employ the term:

(HARII, 275)	Jis, uk"amarak <sup>u</sup> ipī,
	jis = affirmative
	uk"ama = 'like so, thus'
	-rak <sup>i</sup> = 'also, también'
	-pi = exclamatory

-'' = exclamatory,

translated as

'Sí, así es, también.'

'Yes, it's like that, also.'

Finally, siempre, when occurring in a suffixed position, and with the meaning of 'still, yet' (continued intent) or of surprise, is often translated from, or as, the Aymara suffix {-puni} or {-pini}, an emphatic which also may express the sense of surprise, or that the situation is unchanged or uncompromised (Hardman et al. 1988: 273). The example of a cross-translation involving these forms comes from Hardman (1982):

(HARI, 151)

Armt'asipuntanwa,

armt'a- = 'forget', verb root

-si = reflexive

-pun < -puni = here meaning 'still, yet'

-tan = 4th to 3rd person verbal inflection

-wa = person knowledge sentence suffix

translated to AS as

'Nos hemos olvidado siempre.'

'We still up and forget.'

As Laprade (1976) notes several of the AS suffixes can combine in sequence, and when doing so follow order rules. These reflect much the same process as suffixation in Aymara, wherein suffixes are combined according to relatively fixed ordering. The suffixes nomás, pues and pero may co-occur, and in that order; for example:

(HARI, 151)

Sakirakipunīta,

sa- = 'to say, tell', verb root

-ki = limitator, 'nomás'



-raki = challenger, 'pues', objector, 'pero'

-puni = exclamatory, 'pues'

-“ = exclamatory

-“ta = 2nd to 3rd person future verb  
inflection;

'Dile nomás pues pero',

'Well, just go ahead and tell!'

Several of the Aymara suffixes indicated above are what are known as independent suffixes; i. e. they occur independently of any morphological class, combining with words of various grammatical classes, syntactic units or sentences. These are {-ki}, {-raki} and {-puni}. These suffixes are some of the 'freest' in Aymara in the sense of where, with what word categories, or at what level of language—ranging from word through the sentence level—they may affix. And the Aymara suffixes indicated above do share some functional analogies with the original or SS items which correspond. The AS functions are based upon elaborations, at time shifts in the direction of the Aymara suffixes, of the SS use patterns for these items. AS suffixed particles have roughly the same range of use, both semantically and syntactically. While there is no one-to-one correspondence between the Aymara and AS suffixes, the general process of suffixation and aspects of the functions of particular suffixes in Aymara have been drawn into use in AS.

### Linkers and summarizers

The AS así, entonces and ya may serve as syntactic linkers, or connectors, between ideas, statements, arguments, and aspects of a story. They may also serve to summarize or conclude a particular idea or statement; and at times they serve both functions. Particularly but not exclusively when they occur as summarizers they are placed in word, phrase or sentence final

position, and so take on the suffix-like pattern of the particles nomás, pues, and so forth, discussed previously. The analogous substrate pattern may be found in the use of the term uka, 'thus, so, like that', usually as one of the variants ukat, ukax, at times ukatx, or uk"ama, as syntactic linker and summarizer (Hardman et al. 1988: 313 and Hardman n.d.: 230). A good deal of Aymara discourse is shaped and timed by the use of these forms, which provide frames for the flow of the narrative from one point to another. In AS así, entonces and at times ya are employed not only with very much the same function and distribution, but also with similar timing and rhythm. Appendices II, V, VIII and X are particularly good examples of this for AS. McKay 1987 provides a detailed linguistic analysis of an Aymara text in which this discourse feature is highlighted.

The following chart (Table 4) illustrates the correspondences indicated above which exist between AS particles and their Aymara suffix counterparts.

Table 4

Summary of AS Particle/Aymara Suffix Correspondences

<u>Function/meaning</u>	<u>Aymara suffix</u>	<u>AS particle</u>
limitator	{-ki-}	<u>nomás</u>
softener, politive	{-ya}	<u>nomás</u> ; <u>pues</u> <sub>1</sub> ; -" (i. e. vowel length)
scolder, challenger	{-raki <sub>1</sub> -}	- <u>ps</u> , <u>pues</u> <sub>2</sub> ; <u>pero</u>
aggregator	{-raki <sub>2</sub> -}	<u>también</u>
surprise; 'yet, still'	{-puni/-pini}	<u>siempre</u>
summarizer, linker	<u>uka</u> , etc.	<u>así</u> , <u>entonces</u> , <u>y</u>

### Topicalization

The process of topicalization by the use of fronting, articles, and commas in the written language echoes the use of a number of features of the Aymara substrate which function as topic markers. Aymara utilizes sentence suffixes which function, among other things, to mark the subject or topic of comment, in statements usually the suffix {-xa}. As described in Chapter VII, both articles before proper names and commas in the written language help to define topic in AS.

In questions, other Aymara suffixes, {-ti} or {-sa1}, mark the specific question being asked (if 'yes' or 'no'; and 'what, when, where, how, who' or 'whom'), and specific answers are marked with the sentence suffix {-wa}. It is plausible that these suffixes may also be conceived of as a type of topic marker. In AS, the process of fronting, which occurs in both interrogative structures and in statements which answer questions, tends to front either the question being asked or the answer to the question, so that fronting functions to highlight both questions and answers in a manner similar to the interrogative and responsive suffixes in Aymara.

### Duplication

Minaya and Luján (1982), reporting on the speech of adults and children in Peru who are bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, state that their data reveal a "hybrid" pattern in verbal syntagma of the form verb-object-verb (VOV), where the verbs are duplicates. This pattern is original to these bilinguals, since they do not derive it directly from either of their two languages. Quechua has an S(ubject)OV order while standard Spanish is SVO. The resulting hybrid pattern utilizes the Spanish VO while retaining the Quechua pattern of verb in sentence final position (V#).



verb, a stated person object which surfaces in the sentence may be said to be doubly marked. The AS pattern of double object marking with clitics which is considered redundant by speakers of other Spanish dialects may reflect the relationship between verbs and object marking in Aymara, as suggested earlier in the discussion of the transitivity of verbs in AS.

### Linguistic Postulates

The notion of the linguistic postulate was developed by Hardman (1978) and defined by her as "those ideas and concepts which run through the whole of the language, cross-cutting all levels, which are involved as well in the semantic structure and which are tied into the Aymara world-view" (Hardman n. d.: Ch. 2), and "those recurrent categorizations in the language which are most directly and most tightly tied to the perceptions of the speakers. . ." (Hardman-de-Bautista 1978: 122). The linguistic postulate may be thought of as the operationalization of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which generally correlates language structure with cultural themes, in the sense that it is only after a formal analysis of a language in its cultural context that certain linguistic postulates become apparent (Hardman-de-Bautista 1978: 122). Those postulates which are marked in the linguistic system of Aymara, and have behavioral correlates in other parts of the culture, and which have given rise to specific influences in AS are data source and politeness.

### Data Source

### Verb system

At the syntactic level, it is the category of data source, described in Chapters V and VII, whose existence identifies AS as a distinct dialect of Spanish. There is no question that data source—the statement of the source of one's information—is a key component of Aymara language and culture. It is impossible to utter a sentence in Aymara without marking for the source

of data, specifically, whether the information was personally seen or experienced, or not. Data source in Aymara is realized in the verbal inflectional system, in the system of sentence suffixes, and in syntactic structure (Hardman-de-Bautista 1978: 125). It is reasonable to assume that over the course of the nearly 500 years of contact through bilingualism, speakers of Aymara and Spanish selected elements of the Spanish verb system to represent the data source distinctions which in Aymara are necessary in order to be able to speak at all. The features then spread throughout the area, and were incorporated into the speech of those whose first or primary language is Spanish.

Much of the verb system of AS has been influenced by the data source postulate (see Chapters V and VII). New syntactic resources for expression of very subtle distinctions—for example, the suggestion of personal distance from the topic, or of a future which is less certain—were developed within AS, reflecting an interaction between the data source postulate and social prestige factors which also influence the linguistic system. While everyone from all social groups, including monolinguals, shares the use of the pluperfect versus the present perfect and preterite forms as non-personal and personal knowledge forms, respectively, other aspects of data source expression are understood here as resources in AS, rather than obligatory categories. Thus, although not to the extent that it is in Aymara, the data source category can be seen as generalized in the dialect.

While the components of the verb system in AS may not differ from other dialects of Spanish, the data source function of that system does, and may reasonably be understood to have derived from substrate influence on the imported language. For example, a preference for periphrastic verb forms, such as the compound future over the simple future, characterizes much of

American Spanish (cf *Presente y Futuro de la Lengua Española* [1963]) as it does AS. However, because the choice of the periphrastic form in AS signals a different, specific meaning *within a systematic constellation of linguistic forms* utilized for expression of various distinctions of data source, the use of this future tense in AS must be understood as different from its uses in other American Spanish dialects.

### Discourse cues

#### Framing and quoting

As indicated in Chapter VII, discourse in AS is often structured so that the source of information in the topic under discussion is indicated by the appropriate verb form placed initially or finally, or both, in the narration. The data source indicators are used in this way to frame the information, which is given in as close to the original version, using the original verb forms, as possible. Often the texts are given as direct quotes, which can be quite lengthy, as long as the data source indicator is unambiguously provided elsewhere in the narrative. Aymara narratives often contain this type of structure (Hardman 1985b; and see McKay 1987 and Huanca 1987 for complete analyses of Aymara narratives).

#### Particles as data source signals

The suffix-like particles siempre, quizá, and the particles seguro and seguramente, as well as expressions like supongo or de repente often express non-personal knowledge senses of 'of course, surely, still', or 'I suppose', as described in Chapter VII. The use of these forms to convey a sense very unlike their use in the standard occurs when an affirmative response is appropriate, but when personal knowledge is lacking. Functionally analogous in Aymara are expressions containing inasa, 'perhaps', and the

Aymara verbal inflectional suffix {-chi}, which indicates non-involvement and a lack of control over a situation.

### Politeness

While not classifiable as a *linguistic* postulate of Aymara, politeness, defined here as behavior which is based upon consideration for others in your presence, is an Aymara cultural postulate for which a number of linguistic postulates in the language are corrolary, such as the overmarking of the second person, and human/non-human distinctions. Likewise, speakers of AS employ a number of linguistic structures which are indicative of politeness toward their interlocutors. These have been discussed in Chapters V through VII under the various grammatical categories which these structures represent, and are brought together here as indicators of a strong cultural pattern.

### Overmarking of other persons

The structure con + second or third person(s), frequently used as a subject indicator, as in vivimos junto con mi hermano, 'my brother and I live together', amounts to an overmarking of persons involved as the subject along with the speaker. In the Aymara language, "the second person is preeminent" and is "grossly overmarked in the inflectional system" (Hardman-de-Bautista 1978: 127), reflecting a consciousness highly tuned to the addressee. In AS, the same pattern is followed, but extended to include third persons—a phenomenon which diverges from the Aymara inflectional patterns but is consonant with the politeness parameters.

An additional form of person overmarking in AS which often indicates politeness may be seen in the pattern of duplication of person clitic pronouns, described in Chapter V.



### Patterns of subject pronoun use

Much of the complex patterning of subject pronoun use in AS discourse, described in Chapter VI, is also based upon politeness parameters. This is particularly true of the tendency to use the polite usted in initial conversation, followed by the less formal, but friendly (in AS) tú or vos, if they are appropriate, and then the usted form again is used to close an interaction in a respectful manner.

### Interactive processes in discourse

Likewise the interactive mode signalled by such interjections as ¿no? (with a rising intonation), ¿no es cierto? or ¿ya?,—and the appropriate responses to them—which appear very frequently in discourse of almost any length, serve to assure interlocutors that each is 'in tune' with the other.

### Use of suffixes

As we have seen, the particles pues, nomás and pero each have various functions in AS, among which the politive or suavizador is very common as a discourse feature across all social groups. Always occurring as post-positioned or suffixed to the word or sentence, these items may soften imperatives or otherwise sharp responses, questions and objections. Polite requests are made more so by the use of one or more of these forms suffixed to the verb. Another politive suffix which appears on nominals and on adjective and adverbial modifiers is -ito/a, as in cierra la puerta un poquito más fuertecito, '(please) close the door a little bit harder'. Paralleling politive suffixes in AS is the Aymara sentence suffix {-ya}, which softens commands or signals a polite request for attention (Hardman et al. 1988: 284). In comparison of structures across languages, {-ya} correlates most closely with AS pues, considering both semantic functions and structural features. But the

general analogy remains, taking into account both the process of suffixing and the politeness function, with the other politeness suffixes of AS.

#### Use of articles with proper names

The use of forms such as *la María*, *el Daniel*, *el Papi*, and so on, not only are not derogatory forms as they are in other dialects, but they may also be used in AS as expressions of endearment, or indicative of familiarity or intimacy. Related to this is the fact that the articles function as topicalizers, marking the proper nouns as primary or important propositions in an utterance. Therefore their use falls under the general tendency toward a demonstration of respect by the speaker for others within the range of the discourse.

## CHAPTER IX

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study utilized traditional anthropological linguistic field methods of data gathering and analysis to examine the Spanish spoken on the altiplano of Bolivia and Peru. The data were examined, with regard to form or usage patterns for morphological and syntactic variation from a 'standard'. It was found that there are indeed some salient variations in the syntactic and semantic patterns in AS, especially in the verb system and in certain discourse features, and that these patterns define a distinct dialect of Spanish. There are fewer but distinct morphological variations. In addition, this research supports earlier reports by other investigators concerning phonological variation which occurs in the speech of Bolivians and Peruvians in the specific geographic areas of the target region.

Although this study yielded only a first approximation of AS characteristics, the importance of familiarity with the indigenous language and culture for language contact studies has been demonstrated. Additionally, the research has highlighted the necessity of awareness of cultural context for accurate research on dialectal variation at the level of syntax. That is, knowledge of formal variation without a sense of the semantic content which that variation represents tends to lose the liveliness, cultural relevance, and possibility inherent in all language. Especially in a context involving language and culture contact, it is important to consider

the possibility that the parameters of a dialect may include semantic field as much as variation in form at the levels of phonology, morphology, or syntax.

Although Weinreich and Haugen made it plain that the direction of interlingual influence may not be assumed in linguistic or sociolinguistic research, there is a tendency in discussions of language contact phenomena to do just that, favoring the strength of social and politically dominant languages. This research has demonstrated that influence from the dominated language and culture may be significant in the establishment of new varieties of language—in this case, a distinct dialect of Spanish. Recognition of this dialect may be important to the conduct of research on language variation in change in the Andean region. For example, in research by Escobar (1986) focusing on stages of bilingualism in Peru, certain constructions in bilingual speech were equated with developmental levels in the acquisition of Spanish, the standard for which was the coastal Limeño variety. The present research would tend to question one of the basic assumptions of Escobar's work. That is, what if the standard used for the research had been Andean or highland Spanish—the variety spoken in the area where the speakers originated—rather than the coastal variety? Those speakers who were previously considered as exhibiting a lower level of acquisition behavior would then be considered to be at a more advanced stage in the acquisition process. It remains to be seen whether speakers who were described as being at a particular learning stage relevant to one variety of Peruvian Spanish may not in fact be quite fluent in another variety of Peruvian Spanish which is used in their own milieu.

This dissertation is not the first study to have raised such questions regarding the assumptions and the perspective of the investigator. García and Otheguy contend that, in the case of clitic variation influenced by Quechua

substrate, the characteristic usages are "not simply temporary interferences in the rudimentary Spanish of nascent Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in the sierra, but stable characteristics of the fluent Spanish of bilinguals in and out of the sierra" (1983: 121). They also state that "there is every indication that these traits have been diffused from bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers to monolingual Spanish speakers." Thus a constellation of these traits may comprise a different dialect. Cerrón-Palomino (1988) also states that motosidad, or the characteristic speech style of Peruvian highlanders, should not be interpreted as initial bilingual speech behavior.

Ocurre que muchos de tales rasgos tipifican el habla de quienes ignoran el quechua o de zonas en las que esta lengua fue desplazada. Así, pues, un proceso estrictamente psicolingüístico—como el de la interferencia—deviene en elemento constitutivo de las formas del castellano local, es decir adquiere el estatuto de *norma* (social). (p. 69)

In this regard, he also cautions against attributing the status of interlanguage, considered to represent acquisitional stages, to stable speech characteristics.

One of the weaknesses of the present research is that the data do not reveal the total social or geographic spread of the dialect, nor the stability of some of the specific dialectal features in terms of frequency and extent of use. Because of the limited amount of data gathered from upper-middle or upper class speech, for example, determination of the extent to which the features described in Chapters V-VIII are characteristic of the speech of that stratum of altiplano society awaits future research. Statistical analyses of the social correlates of specific dialect features requires a larger group of speakers from each social group, and there is a need to correlate the phonological, morphological and syntactic variations with each other and across social groups. Additionally, the concept of social class needs to be defined more

precisely, incorporating criteria other than occupation, educational level and income. Also, the geographic area of the research should be expanded. Data from Quechua-dominated highland areas provide tantalizing clues suggesting that some of the linguistic features discussed in this study may be in fact pan-Andean. Herrero (1969) discusses many aspects of Spanish spoken in Cochabamba which are similar to AS. Hundley's (1983) research on /s/ and vowel deletion discusses the Andean spread of these phonological characteristics, for example, and Muysken (1984) considers syntactic features similar to those described in this study which appear in both Ecuadorian and Peruvian highland Spanish.

Additionally, there are items which appear in the data gathered for this research which stand out as unusual or intriguing phenomena, but for which not enough adequate contextual information was gathered in order to make plausible statements regarding the distribution and use of these forms. Investigators interested in pursuing research on this dialect may do well to proceed in these areas, summarized below.

At the level of morphophonology, the relation between vowel length and semantic load, as described in Chapter IV, needs to be further clarified. In the syntax of AS, additional research may further clarify the uses of the suffixed particles nomás, pues, pero, siempre, también, as well as the particle ya which appears very often in discourse but was not analyzed in this research. Interrogative usage is another area of the grammar where there appears to be some interesting variation. For example, ¿a qué? is often heard for ¿para qué?, the question ¿a cómo? refers to 'price per item', and so on. Additionally, given the frequent usage and general distribution of the present tense as a past, which may be a result of reinforcement by Jaqi time-

orientation as it is expressed in language, additional research on present tense as a future may provide some interesting results.

A number of examples of gerund usage which warrant further study appear in the data from this research. The use of gerunds in the role of subordinated verbs in the speech of bilinguals has been indicated in Chapter VII. Bilinguals often translate Aymara subordinated verbs carrying the subordinator {-sa} as gerunds in AS, where they play subordinate verb roles. However, there are other particularly interesting gerund uses, indicated below, which are not quite standard, nor do they fit the pattern of gerund as subordinated verb. Gerund forms in combination with the verb *ir* form an interesting case. Such combinations express the notion of doing something, indicated by the gerund, while going somewhere, on the way to someplace, while traveling or moving along (walking, riding), indicated by forms of *ir*. The gerund form of *ir* in the following sentence is used by the speaker to help clarify the usefulness of llamas in the modern context: They are still used for cargo, but not in the ancient way—they no longer are as necessary in the networks for exchange of goods that once crisscrossed the Andes for months at a time in the form of llama caravans, having been replaced for those purposes by trucks. By adding yendo to the sentence no va a estar cargando, 'the llama will not be transporting', the speaker specifies the notion of long-distance hauling:

(STRX, 150)

Entonces es siempre llama, no va a estar yendo  
cargando no,

'So there still are llama, ([but] the llama) won't  
be going (on long trips) transporting (cargo), no.'

In the following example the gerund form of *ir* carries a similar semantic load in reference to movement, but the construction is formed with serial inflected verbs:

(STRI, 75) Yo sigo estoy yendo,  
'I'm going (right now)',

which implies 'I was on my way to some other place when I arrived here, and I'm continuing on my way there now.' In the example below, the message with the use of *ir* in combination with a gerund form indicates the activity of speaking (hablando) while going (ir):

(STRI, 22/24) Podíamos/Podríamos ir hablando,  
'We could (past/future) go speaking', or 'We could talk as we went along'/Let's talk as we go.'

In AS constructions with the gerund are very frequent, as they are in other dialects of American Spanish. Progressive forms with the gerund frequently replace the simple forms used more regularly in the standard:

(STRI, 42) Ella sigue estando,  
'She continues to be';

(STRV, 40) . . . ella está agarrando,

for

'ella lo tiene,'  
' . . . she has it.'

One often hears statements such as estoy queriendo, 'I want', estoy creyendo, 'I believe' and the following:

(STRIX, 34) Eso es el gran problema que estoy teniendo ahora, ¿no?,  
'This is the major problem that I'm having now.'



As in SS, the sense of immediacy is often heightened with use of the gerund in the progressive tenses, which is the case in the example above, implying state or action accomplished or to be accomplished at the moment of speaking. Also, gerund forms occur with a number of auxiliary verbs, including estar, seguir, and ir, and in a variety of tenses:

- (STRVIII, 22)      Entonces, eso se ha ido reduciendo, a medida que han, que ha ido moliendo.  
 'So, that was being reduced as it had been ground.'
- (STRX, 108)      . . . se aburrían pues, que donde va cada año, va a estar ayudando a mi mamá, con la llama ¿no?,  
 '. . . they were bored — wherever they go every year, they would wind up helping my mom with the llamas, right?'
- (STRX, 113)      Mi mamá sabía estar ayudándome a mi . . . ,  
 'My mom used to help me . . . '
- (STRI, 241)      Hasta ahora, sus hijos, del idioma aymara, seguimos nomás hablando,  
 'Up to the present their children continue speaking (of) the Aymara language!'
- (STRIII, 18)      Bueno, nosotros seguíamos estudiando aquí . . . ,  
 'Well, we continued to study here . . . '.

Additionally, statements such as the following occur in the context of descriptions of events, or in explanations:

- (STRX, 117)      Más antes todavía viajando yo por lado de Santa Cruz, así adentro,  
 'Before I still traveled over to Santa Cruz, into the interior (away from my community).'

A number of investigators have commented on the frequency of gerund usage in the highlands of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, including Kany (1947), Gutiérrez (1984) and Mendoza (1988) on Bolivian usage, and Godenzzi (1986) on usage in Puno, Peru, and Muysken (1984) on Ecuadorian speech. Kany remarks on the use of the form indicating incipient action (1947: 198), and Mendoza reports gerund use in exhortative clauses in the speech of all social groups (1988: 22). Clearly additional research is indicated in order to understand the patterns of gerund use in AS.

Another intriguing area of research in AS spans both syntactic and discourse levels (beyond sentence construction), and involves meaning carried by intonation. Anecdotal evidence indicates, for example, an intonation pattern over words indicating the listing of information; another intonation pattern covers the sentence which indicates respect for the interlocutor, and is used particularly in situations in which the speaker is making a request. The latter pattern is often misinterpreted by those unfamiliar with the usage as begging or pleading.

At the discourse level there are several areas of research which are promising. A study of discourse structure of highland Peruvian Spanish (Stratford, 1985) indicated considerable substrate influence on the construction of narratives in political discourse in the context of community meetings. And Tomás Huanca, a native speaker of Aymara and AS, has indicated<sup>1</sup> that there may be parallels in AS to aspects of the structure of Aymara discourse described in his research report (Huanca 1987).

Finally, the field of lexical research is largely unexplored and potentially very rich in AS. An essential part of the meaning of any linguistic

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<sup>1</sup>personal communication, 1987

form is the contexts within which that form may be used or for which it is appropriate. This is an area within which the influence of the indigenous forms may exist, but about which it may be very difficult to speak. On one level, we can be fairly certain that the use of verb forms to indicate data source is a direct result of indigenous language contact with the conquest language. On another level, the experience of the language on the altiplano has a different flavor and smell and feel, and the references are quite changed for many of the words, from the language in, say, Lima or Sucre. It is composed of a myriad of events and relationships and perceptions of the physical world, from the miniscule to the grand, which would be difficult to recount in entirety, or to equate as the elements of 'meaning' for many items. Lexical studies which would explore word meaning and usage patterns in the altiplano context are needed for a better understanding of AS and language contact phenomena.

This study provides basic linguistic and contextual data for a description of the Spanish dialect of the altiplano area of Bolivia and Peru. It is only a beginning, and it is hoped that the study will provide some impetus for additional research in the area in order to confirm and build upon the present data.

Provided below is a summary of the general characteristics of AS which are reported in this study.

Table 5

Summary of Characteristics of Altiplano Spanish

Nominal system

Options in the syntactic treatment of gender and number categories, including:

- masculine and feminine articles, adjectives, and demonstratives with feminine nominals;
- singular and plural articles, adjectives, and demonstratives with plural nominals; singular and plural pronouns with plural noun referents;
- augmentation of the class of mass nouns.

Pronominal system includes use of vos, and possessive phrases with the construction de + possessor su + possessed.

Options for plural marking of nouns and adjectives, which include the plural inflection allomorph /-Øs/ resulting from vowel reduction.

### Verb System

The use of selected verb tenses to indicate the source of the information being conveyed and levels of personal involvement with the information, specifically:

- pluperfect tense expresses non-personal knowledge of the information;
- present perfect and preterite tenses express personal knowledge of the information, with the preterite signaling more formality, less intimacy, and more personal distance from the information or its source.

Neutralization of the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, and optional object marking via both clitic pronouns and nouns; reflexive verbs used to underscore personal involvement, known as 'participative' verbs.

Reduction of the significance of the present versus past time distinction, realized in the verb system by frequent use of present tense forms

to refer to past events, including uses of the present subjunctive for past subjunctive reference.

### Discourse Processes

Data source is indicated by combinations of verb tenses, forms of decir, use of quoting, and use of particles such as siempre, seguramente, or quizá.

Politeness requirements are fulfilled via syntactic strategies in pronominal use, other-person overmarking, interactive signals in discourse, suffix-like placement of pues, nomás, and pero, and by certain functions of the diminutive suffix -ito.

Processes which parallel suffixing of words or phrases to word-, phrase, and clause-level units perform the functions indicated below:

- emphasis (pues or -ps, nomás, siempre),
- exhortation (pues),
- limitation (nomás),
- objection (pero),
- aggregation (también),
- expression of surprise (siempre),
- linking (entonces, así, y),
- summarizing (así, entonces, or combinations of these)
- confirming (¿nossierto?, ¿no?, ¿ya?),

as well as fulfilling the politeness requirements as indicated above.

Topicalization occurs through fronting of underscored items, the use of articles with personal names, and the placement of commas in the written language.

Repetition, especially of verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, serves to structure discourse.

Subordination occurs by (1) use of the relativizer lo que, (2) the use of a gerund as a subordinated clause, and (3) by fronting of the subordinated clause with an optional adverbial head.

## APPENDIX I

## SAMPLE DATA FROM WRITTEN MATERIALS

EL DIARIOsábado 18 de julio de 1987

"Expo Perú 87", se desarrollará desde el próximo lunes 20 al 25 de julio en el Hotel Sheraton de esta capital, en la oportunidad expondrán los productos peruanos, donde participarán más de 60 empresas del vecino país.

El Instituto de Comercio Exterior (ICE) del Perú, es un organismo con rango ministerial, explicó Garavito Amézaga y entre sus objetivos principales se destaca, el nacionalizar y concertar las acciones que el país desarrolla, en materia de comercio exterior, formulando políticas, más adecuadas en esta materia y fortalece la capacidad negociadora del Perú en el exterior.



*Como la gansa estaba en el medio del lago.*

*Entenas decidieron, ha secar el lago.*

*La zorra furiosa fue corriendo  
en busca de la gansa...*

APPENDIX II  
NARRATIVE II

Sigue así porque ahora últimamente de los ya de la tercera, cuarta generación, ya jovencitos, ellos dijeron: "¿Por qué nosotros no podemos hacer algo para el pueblo?" Hemos habido una reunión así con una mesa directiva, formamos a una persona mayor como presidente, para que él planifique las cosas, que cosas al pueblo le falta. Entonces estaban bien. Casi dos meses marchó bien.

Hemos obrado, por ejemplo, para la construcción, para el techado de las piezas de los profesores. Que siempre cada año mandan allá profesores, pero no tienen donde vivir. Entonces para que no haiga ese problema, los mandones—corregidor, alcalde—obsequió un pequeño terreno, para la construcción de seis o siete piezas. Entons faltaba para el techado. La calamina faltaba.

Nosotros entramos de acuerdo aquí para poder hacer una kermes. Y todo los fondos. Hemos preparado varios platos—chicharro:n, sajta de pollo. Todo, toda esa cosa, era en beneficio del pueblo.

Y hemos comprado las calaminas, los, las palisadas. Después hemos obsequiado libros al escuela de allá, que tampoco tenía su, su ayuda del alcaldía, más que todo, o vecinos del pueblo. No, no había esa ayuda.

Casi la mayor parte de los campesinos alcanzan para hacer la inscripción a sus hijos, pero ya no alcanzan para poder comprarles unos



libros, otros libros, que piden el escuela. Y nosotros entramos de acuerdo acá para poder por lo menos por persona, el libro que tenga uno, que ya no le sirva, porque allá generalmente solamente primaria hay. No hay secundaria. Obsequían por lo menos a dos libros. Todos recolectaron a dos libros, a dos libros. Todo el pueblo. Hemos reunido doscientos libros, doscientos libros.

Y entonces esto ha sido una sorpresa. Ya hemos llegado un paquete grande y para el techado de las piezas. Le hemos dado una sorpresa ya a los autoridades. Entons ellos dijeron: "¿Por qué", a veces, uno dice "estamos formando una mesa directiva, para el bien del pueblo. Pero tantas otras personas habían hecho lo mismo, pero ninguna personas ya preocupado del pueblo sino, han reunido fondos, han recaudado la cantidad de dinero, y entre toda la mesa directiva, si han partido a veinte, a treinta mil, entns no había nada para el pueblo." Entons pensaban que los campesinos nosotros lo que estamos haciendo, iba a ser lo mismo.

Ellos dicen que comentaban allá: "Ah, no, ésto no, nosotros no podemos esperar algún beneficio para el pueblo, porque siempre dicen lo mismo y no hay tal cosa." Ha sido una sorpresa muy grande cuando fuimos allá en catorce de septiembre.

Hemos hecho llegar los libros. Hemos hecho llamar a los mandones principalmente para que se reuna. Vinieron y se dieron una sorpresa grande al recibir calaminas y libros. Sí, quedaron muy satisfechos.

Pero después, poco a poco acá, que obsequiaron hace, no sé cuantos años atrás, una máquina para la electrificación, pero que estaba en mal estado. Entonces tenían que hacer una cota, los que radican allí en el pueblo, para poder hacer arreglar, la máquina, y empezar a enstalar un tanque, para que funcione y que sea todo el pueblo alumbrado.

Pero siempre, cada autoridad que entraba, sacaban multa o alguna otra cosa. Era para el beneficio de su bolsillo. No era para el pueblo.

### APPENDIX III

#### NARRATIVE III

Bueno, yo en realidad, como decía, yo soy natural de provincia Pacajes. Yo tengo mis padres allá. Yo he crecido allá hasta mis siete, no hasta siete, hasta siete años junto con mis padres. Bueno con mis padres, no . . . . Me hicieron estudiar en [diferénts escwéls ruráls] y a ellos no les gusta que nosotros estemos así con los ganados. Bueno, no, no le ha gustado a mi padre. Siempre él ha tenido esa, ese cariño hacia nosotros para que nosotros así en esta vida triunfimos . . . triunfemos, ¿no?

Yo tengo un hermano que siempre no me separaba con él. Hasta ahora no me separo de mi hermano mayor. El trabaja en la policía actualmente. Yo trabajo acá. Entons junto adábamos con él. Nos cocinábamos en las escuelas que estábamos internados, ¿no? En Rosario más que todo estábamos internados. Allí nos cocinábamos los dos, y, bueno así, así fue transcurriendo los años pasando y posteriormente nos venimos aquí a La Paz el año setentaysiete. Llegamos a una de nuestra. . . nuestras tías. Ahí estamos alojado casi cinco años.

Bueno, nosotros seguíamos estudiando aquí en colegio Ballivián, José Ballivián del Alto, Alto Lima, bueno, así junto con mi hermano. Bueno, un año yo me aplacé sinceramente, y todo por, por, porque el adolescente siempre tiene travesuras. Bueno, et cetera, ¿no? Por esas razones en mi persona, y bueno, así me, me venció mi hermano, y bueno, así acabamos bachiller. El acaba primer, primero y se fue al cuartel. Yo también después, y

me fue al cuartel. En cuartel estuve el año ochentaydos y fue al cuartel un año también allá. Me quedé a trabajar en el mismo regimiento otro año más. Después, como le decía, que los militares no son de buen aspecto para mí, ¿no? Siempre tiene una, una forma de proceder, en forma de tosca, así gritando siempre. Es por eso que no me ha gustado. Es por eso que me he retirado y decidí estudiar una profesión civil.

Me entré a la escuela hotelera. Estudié la carrera de administración hotelera y, bueno, de allí egresé y ahora actualmente me encuentro trabajando en este hotel. Así como le decía que este es mi profesión y, siempre, siempre, nunca perdí la esperanza de triunfar, y siempre actualmente estoy estudiando inglés. Es que quiero aprender bastante y además está relacionado mucho con el turismo y uno que no sabe ese puede fracasar. El que está en ese campo, entons, ¿nops? Me gusta . . . me está gustando aprender inglés y lo voy a hacer. Eso es mi meta que tengo. Bueno, mi proyección a medida que vaya pasando el tiempo como también que yo vaya practicando. Ahorita estoy empezando de, en este restaurante del comedor donde ya sé el movimiento del comedor, como es.

Entonces no sé si dios quiere, pues, bueno, voy a pasar a otras secciones, a otras areas más, bueno, que, que, a través de la práctica, también desarrolla una buena experiencia. Bueno, así si dios quiere voy a triunfar. Voy a, voy a llegar a administrar un hotel. Es mi objetivo que sigo como mi profesión, es esa. Ese sería todo en cuanto de lo que estamos hablando y hasta el momento.

Yo he, no o sea, yo casi, casi, muy rara vez voy a mi pueblo, porque en realidad no tengo tiempo y nunca, siempre he de tener tiempo. Yo me encuentro siempre aquí junto con mi hermano, entonces muy rara vez. Por ejemplo ahora ya así cuatro o cinco años, ya no, ya he ido visitar a mis padres, pero, sí, ellos vienen acá.

Yo tengo mi casa en el alto, es Villa Pacajes también, en esa zona Villa Pacajes. Vivimos junto con mi hermano. Entons mis padres siempre vienen a visitar ya modo de comprarse. Y así porque ellos viven allá y siempre con la ganadería. Bueno, con la dedicados a la agricultura. Entonces siempre vienen. Bueno, como, bueno como es de costumbre de los del campo, siempre vienen a comprarse algo así — alimentos. . . Bueno, así ellos siempre me vienen a ver acá a La Paz.

Entons, yo soy, claro, yo, los unicamente los días jueves salen los carros. Yo mando a veces alguna encomiendita. . . Así, así entonces, estamos tranquilo nomás. Ellos me recuerdan. Yo también siempre me recuerdo. Claro que no me olvido, ¿no? Siempre mando una carta, una pequeña encomienda, así. Como ellos han tenido tanto cariño para mi, entonces yo nunca me va a olvidar, es imposible. Claro que no viajo por factor tiempo, ¿ve? Carezco del tiempo.

(E)l problema es que mi mamá, es, es, enfermisa, o sea, no viene acá casi, a veces. Por ejemplo, el anteaño pasado ha venido por solamente hacerse curar y es enfermisa. Tiene un ataque y casi, casi no, o sea, sería no . . . No lo negaría que la sacara las expresiones de alguna manera. Eso sí.

Más antes tenía un abuelito hace, hace, recientemente ha fallecido, que, 98 años, imagínese. Entonces él sabía todo. Bueno, no he sabido aprovechar esas veces. Claro que es importantísimo el, como dices, esas palabras metáforas o esas expresiones, ¿[nos] cierto? Y es, para mí es importante, ¿no? porque hay que saber como somos nativos somos criollos. Y debíamos estar al tanto de eso porque estamos en nuestra tierra, ¿ve? Entonces es bueno saber, pero yo lamentablemente, esa vez, cuando murió mi abuelito no, no tomaba importancia en este aspecto. Claro, pero de todas maneras yo también, estoy tomando o sea, en este instante estoy tomando la consciencia de que esas

palabras, esas expresiones, se debe investigar, o se debe buscar, estudiar, ¿[nos] cierto? y analizar, por último, qué quiere decir, pues, de dónde viene, por qué se dice eso, para qué sirve, ¿ve? Esas cosas me gustaría saber, pero yo ahorita no, no sé que quiere decir, pero son palabras que más o menos me imagino que son igualito como los filósofos expresan sus pensamientos o dejan, imprimir sus libros, sus pensamientos. Es lo mismo que nuestros abuelos, antepasados, han sacados esas, esas palabras. Pienso que tienen algún significado muy importante.

Bueno, al respecto, yo diría por ejemplo los, los jovenes actuales . . . Bueno, aquí en la ciudad como lo decía en aymara, cambian un, o sea, hay un cambio, un cambio total del ambiente, por ejemplo. No se puede comparar la ciudad con el campo. En la ciudad siempre existe, bueno, la gente es más extrovertida, o sea, quiero decir que la gente es un poquito, siempre está, al tanto de las modas, por ejemplo. Un ejemplo sería, al tanto de las modas, que la juventud en especial siempre está al tanto de las modas. O sea, con eso quiero decir que la juventud que está acá o que vivía, somos ciudadanos más que, nunca ha ido al campo, pues, si, si aquí tiene una forma de usar un vestido o expresarse de alguna manera o, bueno, cierta características, esa persona influye al otro que viene allí mismo.

O al ambiente que se mete, influye bastante porque en primer lugar un joven siempre llegar a tener amigos. Yo, por ejemplo, he tenido, yo, yo he llegado casi un inocente que no sabía nada, de modo, bueno, como usted se imagina que uno que llega de campo siempre llega tímido. Bueno, uno tiene miedo de hablar y es más humillado, bueno, et cetera, más, ¿[nos] cierto?

Pero a medida que vaya pasando el tiempo como también se vaya ambientando ese muchacho, como yo, por ejemplo, conoce bastante amigos, por ejemplo, en los colegios, en las escue-, colegios, o bueno, en instituciones

de formación profesional. Bueno, ya estar ne-, sumergido en un ambiente totalmente diferente al campo. Es por eso que la juventud también cambia automáticamente. Claro, él no se da cuenta porque, pero automáticamente ya cambia su, su forma de proceder, sus actitudes, bueno, sus características, su, su caracter del campo.

Y es por eso que, como le decía, el aymara es despreciado o, para mí sería, parece de que/a mí parecer en el campo la gente siempre no estamos aseado porque no hay tiempo para asearse. Y bueno, puede haber tiempo para asearse. Pero te aseas para unas/más horas. Yo, por ejemplo, bien, en el campo me recuerdo, me lavaba, pues, me lavaba, pero como allí es la tierra donde hay much[ô], la tierra, el viento, bueno, los pajonales, bueno, et cetera. Y me lavo un rato, pues, bueno, es . . . Como vivo en la tierra todo, o sea, siempre es la tierra, ¿no? No es como la ciudad empedrado. Entons a la fuerza tengo que ensuciarme o los trabajos mismos, es así. Es algo, no digamos sucio, sino es el trabajo, siempre está relacionado con el, con la tierra y esa tierra es, bueno, suciedad, así. Llega a ser una suciedad. Entonces la gente que vive acá o, a los campesinos que, que vienen del campo y a la gente que vive acá, lo mira que siempre somos morenos, somos, tímidos, bueno, etc. Somos siempre lo más bajo, o sea, la gente lo ve así, que somos los campesinos que venimos acá, siempre lo ven de más bajo. Entonces es por eso que le da la impresión al ciudadano que vive acá, le da la impresión de que, bueno, hablar aymara no sería importante para ellos. Porque en realidad tiene ese im-, es mala impresión, pero en realidad está confundida. No es mala, sino es natural. Eso no compriende los ciudadanos, o sea, la gente que vive en la ciudad. Entonces, con eso sicológicamente a uno ya, ya, sicológicamente ya lo desprecia al aymara porque el aymara, al decir 'aymara', bueno, ya, ya se da cuenta que clase de persona es, y que clase de tez, o la cara

es morena, bueno, et cetera, ¿[nos] cierto? Yo pienso de que se origina este, esta vergüenza de, de hablar aymara, de eso. Yo pienso de que se origina de esos, de esos aspectos naturales del campo que no son anormales, son normales: cara morena, tez morena, bueno, siempre.



APPENDIX IV  
NARRATIVE IV

[e] Bueno, mi papi falleció en mil noveciento sesentaysiete, y quedamos mi mami y mis cuatros hermanos, o sea, conmigo son cuatro, ¿[nos] cierto? Yo soy la mayor, y tengo mis hermanos, se llaman Milena, Saleth, y Wilson. [ðm] Cuando, cuando quedamos huérfanos, yo quedé de doce años y mi hermana de, de nueve años. Los otros cumpliendo los dos y los tres años. Y luego mi mami empezó trabajar, turno [esta] era auxiliar de enfermería. Y empezó trabajar y tenía turnos en la noche. Teníamos que quedarnos [ayβeses] en las noches solos nosotros. Y la comida también porque salía [ayβeses] ella en la mañana y nosotros teníamos que ver como comer, ¿[nos] cierto? Entonces yo ya sabía preparar la comida. Tropezábamos con algunos problemas porque [ayβeses] mis hermanos tenían que quedarse solitos, iban chiquititos. Entonces para ir al colegio teníamos que turnamos [ayβeses], mi hermana. "Yo tengo religión hoy día entonces no es tan importante mi materia andá tú que tienes matemáticas", por ejemplo. Salir así.

Y mi mami empezó trabajar y comenzó estudiar idiomas y secretariado. Llegó algo de inglés y [se de] se presentó en el embajada americana. Menos mal que por una amiga consiguió trabajo en la embajada americana, y allí trabajó y mejoró nuestra situación, mejoró. Yo seguí estudiando en [e] en colegio. Mis hermanos también y, y después pasó al embajada de Francia mi mami.

Luego de allá se le presentó una oportunidad para irse con una empresa privada y ahora el año pasado, ochentaycinco en julio se fue, a Italia. Como una extranjera se fue. Y se quedaron mis hermanos acá conmigo. Mi mami me dijo, "los vas a ver, yo te voy a mandar dinero," todo eso, ¿no? Pero [ayβeses] no llegaba con frecuencia. No hay una persona que ven-, una persona vaya llevando el dinero, ¿no es cierto?

Entonces el año pasado por ejemplo mi mami cuando se fue nos dejó doscientos dólares. Hasta septiembre nos duró los doscientos dólares y luego no, no teníamos. Y justo por estos días también mi hermana le enfermó el ojo. Estaba mal de su vista entonces no teníamos dinero. A pan y café estábamos. Yo tenía sus [estes] de mi mamá sus joyas. Vendí todita sus joyas. Y iba uno por uno, porque no llegaba dinero, entonces, decía y, el médico me decía "tiene que comprar gotas", y seis pastellitas al día tenía que tomar ella en la mañana.

APPENDIX V  
NARRATIVE V

AW: Siempre hacíamos algo

DS: ¿Con ella?

AW: Sí. Hacíamos chacra, con mi mamá hacíamos todo, hacíamos, sembrabamos cebollas, zanahorias, lechugas, todo. Y cuando se murió mi mamá, ya no nosotros, ya todo nos hemos. . . nos hemos ocupado y muy triste ¿no?. Y llorando así. Y, se murió estaba caminando por otro lado yo buscando así para que se sabe por ahí ¿no? . Estaba buscando algo, para que se sane. Con parto ha muerto mi mamá, con parto.

DS: ¿Y la wawa?

AW: Y wawa, vivía, vivía. Vivía cinco meses estaba viviendo. Se ha muerto.

DS: A, se ha muerto también.

AW: Se ha muerto también. Y ya así. Ya han enterrado, y no me han dejado ni ver a mi mamá, sí, y de poco tiempo, ya mi papá ya [si] ha buscado otra mujer, sí. Ya tiene otra mujer.

DS: A ¿tiene otra mujer ahorita?

AW: Sí, otra mujer tiene. Sí.

DS: ¿No es como tu mamá pero?

AW: No ya no es como mi mamá.

DS: Y cuando se falleció, ¿ustedes no fueron a las chacras, nada de eso tampoco?

AW: No, no íbamos, teníamos que ir a a sacar papa, escabrar papas, ¿no? Y ya no hemos ido. No, a sembrar era. A sembrar era, teníamos que sembrar por ahí arriba, por el cerro, y ya no hemos idops a sembrar. Tres días nos hemos atrasados en ahí, y en esas semanas ya no hemos hecho nada. Sí, también, cuando se ha muerto ya esa noche, después de esa noche, se ha perdido un awayu.

DS: A ¿sí?

AW: Un awayu, se ha, ella se ha tejido. Sabía tejir mi mamá.

DS: A ya.

AW: Ella se ha tejido y se ha perdidops[h]. Sí se ha perdido en la casa abajo estábamos esa vez. Y se ha perdido y habrá sabemos quien agarra. Es mi tía nomás también.

DS: ¿Tu tía?

AW: Sí, mi tía. Y, así nomás nosotros hemos dejadops. "Así que esté nomás" también mi papá ha dicho. Y, nosotros no le hemos dicho como estábamos un poquito chiquitos, y no le hemos dichops nada. Y mi hermano siempre ha (xx)<sup>†</sup>

DS: ¿Siempre tiene, tu tía?

AW: Sí, lo tiene y creo que ya lo ha vendido.

DS: A ¿sí?

AW: Sí. A alguna parte ya lo ha vendido. Hemos ido a Yunguyo, a los, le hemos preguntado los adivinos.

DS: ¿Cómo?

AW: A adivinos le hemos dicho.

DS: A ¿sí?

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<sup>†</sup> (xx) = recording not clear at this point.

AW: Sí. Y nos ha dicho "ella está agarrando" así.

DS: A, ¿a Yunguyo han viajado?

AW: Sí, a Yunguyo hemos ido.

DS: ¿No hay (xx) acá?

AW: Sí, no hay aquí, para saber quién agarra, y saben los adivinos, adivínanps. Sí.

DS: ¿Cómo adivinan?

AW: [o] sí, depende de ellos como adivinan, a veces con sus coquitas, a veces con sus casienas, así.

DS: m m m

AW: Así y, todavía esta casa no estaba techado, esa vez cuando se ha muerto mi mamá, en abajo se ha velado. Sí y sabes nosotros hemos, y nos hemos ido a otra casa. (xx) en mi casa, sí y, después que se ha muerto ya, poco tiempo, y, nosotros vivíamos así. Así ha falta mi mamá, quién cocinaba, estábamos en, con el en la escuela también. Estábamos en la escuela.

DS: ¿Y quién ha cocinado?

AW: Mi papá nomás cocinaba.

DS: A ¿sí? ¿todo?

AW: Sí, todo cocinaba. Sabe cocinar mi papá. Sí, hasta ahora, sigue cocinando, sí. Yo también sé cocinar a veces. Sí.

Se ha buscado otra mujer, che, se han juntado, así es, con una mujer, en allá arriba es. Es mi papá [es] trabajando en allá.

DS: A

AW: Sí.

DS: ¿No se han casado?

AW: No, todavía no se casaron. Sí. ¿Cuándo siempre se casarán, ¿no?.

¿Quién sabe?. ¿Ellos están hablando, o no? ¿Quién sabe?

DS: ¿Tú quieres que se casen?

AW: [m] yo , (xx) yo, sí, se pueden casar pero. Que no reñan mis hermanitos.

DS: A, ya.

AW: Sí.

DS: Que les trate bien.

AW: Sí, que les trate bien. Que les atienda, y comida bien, así. Yo eso nomás también quiero. Yo no estoy, que a veces también vengo aquí. Y así, le trataps mal y por eso yo a veces reniego. Sí. Me voy calladito nomás.

DS: A, ¿ya, no dices nada?

AW: No, no digo nada. Me (xx) allá tan poquito que estoy, me vuelvo ir a Copacabana. Sí, a veces, cuando hacemos chacra vengo a ayudar aquí, a mover tierra así. Estoy durmiendo también aquí. Sí, el día siguiente o la tarde me voy. Sí. Y vengo siempre ayudarles, sí. Escabrar papa, mover tierra, aumentar tierra, las plantitas, ¿no? Sí.

Yo voy al colegio así, a estudiar. Siempre voy. . . . Y, sé venir también aquí a la iglesia, en las tardes, el día miércoles en la tarde y domingo en la tarde, sí. Se juntan así un grupo, y ahí adentro cantan y oraciones hacen, así.

DS: ¿Tú vienes?

AW: Sí, vengo.

DS: A, ¿sí?

AW: Sí.

DS: ¿Por esto?

AW: Sí, por eso.

DS: ¿Te gusta?

AW: Sí, me gusta, cantar así, sé grabar, yo tengo gravado en Copacabana.

DS: ¿A, sí?

AW: Sí.

DS: ¿De este grupo?

AW: Sí, de ese grupo tengo [gr aβ á ð o], como cantan, así. Pero no he grabado como hacen sus oraciones, así. Sí.

DS: Es otra cosa, ¿no?

AW: Sí, es otra cosa.

DS: Parece que han acabado con esta parte de la casa.

AW: Sí. Con esa parte han [acaβ á ð o], ahora ahí van a formarps con palos así, van a formar [alrededor í t o], van a formar y, ahí, a lo largo van a poner [m] palos delgadits para que sujete, que no se entre los pajas ahí adentro, adentro la cocina. Para eso ponen eso.

DS: Eso es como se hacen, no sabía.

AW: Con estos pajas hacen, más fuerte es esta parte. Sí.

DS: Bonito acá, bonito vivir acá, ¿no?

AW: Sí, bonito es vivir, piro, así conversando con alguien. Solito no hay caso de vivir, hay tristezas así, no hay caso de vivir también.

DS: Pero hay bastante niños, ¿no? para jugar?

AW: Sí hay bastante, y, algunos no quieren mandar también sus padres, así. Sí. A mí me siempre mandan, me sabe mandar mi papá jugar así con los chicos. Siempre vengo así jugar aquí con la pelota. Sí. Me gusta jugar siempre, así también me gusta estudiar. Más quiero saber de todo.

DS: ¿A tí qué te gusta mejor?

AW: Estudiar, así, pero jugar un poco.

DS: ¿Qué prefieres estudiar?

AW: A, yo quiero estudiar matemática,

DS: A, ¿sí?

AW: Sí, matemática, inglés quiero aprender pero no puedo.

DS: Tú puedes si quieres.

AW: No. Me gusta sociales también, estudios sociales.

DS: Esto me gusta también.

AW: (xx) hablando de las planetas y todo esas cosas. Algo del mundo interior. El año pasado hemos pasado sociales en primero medio. Primero basico siempre pasan estudios sociales, pero despacio con estas semanas también, y el último, todo. Y hay que saber todo del mundo, que cosas hay, así.

DS: ¿Qué quiere decir "mundo interior"?

AW: Mundo interior.

DS: Sí, ¿qué quiere decir eso?

AW: Mundo interior, no sé que te decía.

DS: ¿Qué estudias cuando estudies el mundo interior?

AW: Estudiamos de las planetas , de las cometas, ese.

DS: A, eso.

AW: Sí. Este estudiamos nosotros en el colegio. Sí. (xx)

De los Incas. Sí. Y artes plasticas también poco me gusta. Sí. De los Tiwanakus, dibujar.

DS: Bueno, entonces, ¿estás listo para tu escuela?

AW: Sí. (xx)

DS: ¿No quieren estudiar?

AW: No quieren estudiar. Se pasan con jugar.

DS: m m m

AW: En cambio yo, yo no mucho juego, pero un poco sé jugar siempre. (xx)  
Cuando acabo mis tareas, ya, voy a jugar.

DS: Bueno, entonces vas a aprender mucho.

AW: Sí, puedo aprender.

DS: Y después del colegio quisieras seguir con tus estudios, ¿no?



AW: Sí, quiero seguir con mis estudios. Muchos aquí se salen de la escuela, del colegio, así. Se salen. (xx) estudiando así, pasteando ovejas, vacas, así no (xx) se pasa.

DS: A, ya.

AW: Sí.

DS: Salen sin su título.

AW: No salen (xx) ni siquiera recogen sus libritos, de medio año, al acaba del año se salen. Ya no pueden (xx), ya no puedenps. Yo nunca he salido (xx), sin cuadernos.

DS: ¿Sin cuadernos? (*Break in transcription here*)

AW: Como hacían sus hachas, así los salvages. Primeramente he visto yo estudiando, que las Incas se habían hecho de piedra, sí, y, como había una piedra más fina, piedra pulida se había llamado, de ese se han hecho, y después, ya, pasaron mucho tiempo ya, ya usaron el hierro para hacer hachas, las flechas, todo eso. Sí. De ese yo he estudiado el año pasado. (*Break in transcription here*)

DS: ¿Sigues siendo cerca de tus hermanos?

AW: Sí, sigo siendo pero mis hermanos están en La Paz, en la ciudad están, mi hermano mayor, ha salido el año pasado bachiller de nuestro colegio. Y, este año ha ido al cuartel, y, el año creo que va a estudiar. Y mi otro hermano está trabajando así. Se ha salido del colegio, estaba en primer medio, y estaba en medios, en julio, por ahí se ha salido. A La Paz se han ido con otro, con mi primo, se habían ido para, en trabajar. Y, en nada habían encontrado trabajo, y, buscando así. Y, está mi tío en ahí, y le había encontrado, y, mi tío había ido también para que trabaje. Sí, el otro también con su cuñado se había ido a trabajar, mi primo, y, desde ahí de ese año, el año pasado, el anteaño pasado, se ha ido. Del anteaño pasado estabaps en La Paz es. No viene casi.

DS: ¿No viene?

AW: Sí, de cinco meses, así nomás viene. Sí. Trabajando en ahí, pero no.

DS: ¿Tú le has visitado allá?

AW: No, ni una vez que se ha ido mi hermano yo no he visitado a La Paz. No he ido, donde mi hermano. Siempre estaba aquí. Por eso no conozco bien La Paz.

DS: Este lugarcito es mucho más tranquilo.

AW: Sí y mucho frio ¿no?

DS: Y hay mucho más tiempo acá también.

AW: Sí.

DS: En la ciudad el tiempo va muy rapido, no hay horas para hacer cosas, aquí hay.

AW: Sí. Sí en la ciudad dicen, como yo no voy, yo no séps.

APPENDIX VI  
NARRATIVE VI

PH: Lo poco que había escuchado a través de los viejitos o ancianos que me contaron cuando estaba pasando por el, la comunidad de Carabuco, es una zona aymara del sector Lago Titicaca, provincia Camacho.

Entonces, ellos indican en el tiempo de [e] del explotación de los patrones, había familias que apellidan Mamanis, Quispes, Ch'ukiwanka, Wanka .

Entonces, estos señores no obedecieron a lo patrón, y fueron [a] trasladados muy lejos de aquí, ¿no?, de su comunidad. Ellos han vivido en Carabuco, actualmente, y así. Como en este tiempo no había ni movilidad, era todo caminar, entonces ellos los que han [zído] trasladados, no podían retornar. Y mi parece no solamente dos tres personas, mi pinse que han [zído] un grupo de campesinos que han levantado allí enfrentarse con el patrón, tal vez de este motivo han [zído] llegados allá por Sucre, y hacen [e] bueno vivieron allí, y ellos mismos como no había este [u] la forma de devenirse, se casaron con mujeres quechuas, y a la fuerza tenían que hablar quechua y bueno, han colocado en ese lugar donde han [zído] trasladados, Tarabuco, que actualmente es con el mismo nombre de esa comunidad que era Carabuco y ahora actualmente es Tarabuco y por eso la gente de allí habla todavía aymara, se recuerda, pero en sí no querían decirlo tal vez de este lo que había pasado. Bueno eso me contaron ¿no?

DS: ¿Quién, pero, en Watajata?

PH: No, cuando yo estaba pasando por Carabuco, me contaron eso. Entonces, yo le decía, "¿Por qué lo han colocado 'Carabuco'?" y ellos me decían de que gente de aquí ha salido, entonces, allí también se ha puesto con este nombre 'Tarabuco' y no 'Carabuco'.

DS: ¿Qué quiere decir tarabuku?

PH: tara es una palabra aymara que quiere decir 'dos [a] cosas juntas' ¿no? .

DS: Ya, como 'par'.

PH: Como un par, sí , 'un par', [tara], y [buku], bueno, puede ser [u] tal vez. No hay en aymara pero tal vez en quechua se puede decir eso, ¿no?, pero tampoco no entiendo quechua bien, y no sé.

DS: ¿Hay algo semejante en aymara, como [puku] . . .?

PH: Bueno, puku 'olla' puede ser ¿no?, pero no estoy bien seguro, tal vez tiene otras cosas más, como a la pasada, bueno, charlamos con los puntos y la pregunta lo que lo he hecho es "¿Por qué lo hacen 'Carabuco'?, ¿De dónde nació?" Ellos me contaron en ese forma. Nada más que te puedo hacer, pero, eso es .

APPENDIX VII  
NARRATIVE VII

Son hijas ya que hablamos ya el español ya, pero son hijas de aymaras, hijas de aymaras. Ya algunas están estudiando algunas están en alguna [ð] preparándose mejor para poder llevar. Entonces son aymaras [pa] son. Ahora estamos por mejor porque lo más que podemos organizarnos, hemos ido puramente aymaras, puramente indígenas como se nos llaman, ¿no? Estamos puramente hermanas aymaras, pero, esto no será simplemente así. Tenemos objetivos de que integren otras, también, otras compañeras nuestras de que puedan ayudarnos. Dentro de eso no queremos que estamos encerrados puramente aymaras, porque el, la idea no es eso. Solamente cuando hemos organizado hemos estado integrados puramente aymaras, pero ahora si el grupo, si [e] la organización va creciendo, ¿no? poco a poco, damos la puerta abierta para los otras compañeras: estudiantes, profesionales, y de otros (xx) les pueden entrar a la organización, tranquilamente. ¿Por qué? Porque ellos también pueden aportar, porque quizás puedan aportar las ideas que ellos están pensando, ¿no? A nivel de OMAK podemos llevar con más énfasis, ¿no? con más, puedan integrar como las hermanas qulliris en medicina natural, las parteras que son nativas, ¿no? y así como los otros médicos también en medicina natural o las enfermeras auxiliares populares que hay, ¿no? Entonces, tratamos de entregarle a este grupo, otras compañeras, otras mujeres profesionales también. Porque también está, lo que se ve para el mejor del OMAK, para lo mejor de la organización, no

queremos encerrarnos dentro de ahí, puramente aymaras. Pueden estar los hablante castellanos, y otras compañeras nuestras que es ami:ga nuestra organización, y a lo menos si (xx) son, y si quieren ser siempre simplemente hermanas que quieren ayudar pues, están invitadas para que pueden integrar a OMAK. ...

El OMAK tiene actualmente ninguna parte ha tenido su [finansyamyénto]. Estamos por otro lado, quizás eso, por eso es que está muy lento ¿no? que el, el paso de OMAK. Si tuviera un financiamiento bastan-, o digamos financiamiento por lo menos, lo poco que puede ser, OMAK quizás marcharía con más énfasis, con más seminarios, porque nosotros hemos tenido proyectado para hacer seminarios, conferencias, encuentros, y cursillos, evaluaciones, y todo más. Esos han sido nuestro plan. Pero estamos cumpliendo casi la mitad nada más, no estamos cumpliendo todo. ¿Por qué? Porque no tenemos posibilidades económicas. No hay, tenemos que hacer. Las organizaciones amigas a OMAK tiene que tratar ayudarnos. OMAK no ha tenido financiamiento actualmente ninguna parte. Eso no, veremos ahora que, por eso está un poco, muy, muy joven ¿no? pero yo creo que con todo aunque así, voluntariamente aunque trabajando OMAK, voluntariamente, las compañeras que han prestado sus servicios a OMAK, o están entregando a OMAK, no están, no reciben sueldo de ninguna parte. Ellas concientemente si están trabajando, van a ayudar algunas instituciones, esto es muy diferente, ¿no? Pero dentro de OMAK no tenemos ningun financiamiento.

APPENDIX VIII  
NARRATIVE VIII

Te voy a contar antes sobre una curación que hemos presenciaba, en la localidad de Calata Mercedes en aquí en la provincia Manco Capac.

Entonces allí era el mes de marzo, cuando las lluvias se asecaba más, un campesino que se llamaba Facundo, ha sufrido una caída, [e] y se ha malogrado la rodilla, una de las rodillas de sus pies, al bajar en una cuesta que se llama Larisani, bajando la bajada de San Pedro de Tiquina.

Entonces este campesino, era muy bueno, era colaborador para con los maestros rurales, entonces yo quise ayudarle, llevándole en la bicicleta a un centro de salud de la Fuerza Naval en Tiquina. Entonces el campesino me dijo de que "no me tocara aquí" ni siquiera le avisara al médico, para que le atienda su fractura en una de las rodillas. El campesino, o sea los campesinos lo hicieron un tratamiento con puramente medicina aquí de lugar, aquí el medicina natural, o sea (xx) con hierbas. Pero la rodilla, toda la rótula, sonaba como un fardo, de botellas rotas, sonaba de [k"a k"a k"a] toda la rodilla.

Entonces los campesinos ¿qué han hecho? Han preparado de la siguiente manera. Han conseguido una buena cantidad de hojas, que se llama 'ch'ilka'. 'Ch'ilka'. Una hierba, una plant- un arbusto mediana, de más o menos de unos tres metros de altura. Son hojas muy pegajosas con papel (xx). Luego, 'ch'ili ch'ili'. Es una hierba también que hay en la falda de los cerros, que también usan harto para curación para precípita para solar como yeso, o como para las fracturas. Después 'mank'apaki', otra de las hierbas que

también hay en los cerros. Luego han conseguido una buena cantidad de lagartos, verdes, culebras que hay en los cerros, ¿no? Luego, han conseguido la, [e] de lo que va sacando la quiñua, se llama, el resto de la quiñu- de lo que se golpea la quiñua, [e] el restos que queda como palitos, esto han conseguido buena cantidad. Después han conseguido [e] una buena cantidad o unos tres o cuatro masos de digo de bolos de 'chankaka negra', ¿no?, 'chankaka negra', todo eso. Luego, era más o menos unos tres montones, así. Los campesinos lo han molido en el batán, en un batan de piedra, (xx) de piedra, también.

Entonces, el proceso ha constituido en moderlo todo eso, vívoras, no aquí no hay vívoras, culebras, lagartos, todo todo, en uno. Entonces, eso se ha ido reduciendo, a medida que han, que ha ido moliendo. Al último era solo así una, una masa, media café, ¿no? Y, al campesino, lo han mariado para que no sienta el dolor, porque como no era anestesia, lo anestesia por medio del alcohol.

Entonces los campesinos tienen las quenas, que tocan, han hecho su cabestrillo, bonito. Han tejido, han [ð] hecho como un especie de cabestrillo, así, como un tejido especial, como una canillera que usan los futbolistas. Entonces con eso lo han colocado con todo eso preparado con todo esa masa molida, de todo esos que te digo de los hierbas, de las culebras, lagartos, chankaka, en fin todo eso, había también, incensio, cobalto, esas cosas. Con esa masa, lo han colocado bien, y lo han puesto con este cabestrillo hecho de quenas, bien [ð] como tejidito lo han dejado así.

Entons lo han masfriado con eso, y le han puesto lo han protegido por encima con ese especie de cabestrillo, con eso de palitos que ha servido como un soporte. Y posteriormente para que sea fijo, fijo, han, las mujeres campesinas tienen unos kañawaykas gruesas. Lo han partido en cuatro, que sirve para tejer sus awayus, sus frasadas, así. Llaman 'polos'. 'Pulu' llaman



ellos, las mujeres. Con eso lo han colocado del altura del buzo hasta la altura del tobillo.

Entonces el campesino estaba así, hasta que se suelde todo. Esto más o menos era los fines del mes de marzo. Marzo, abril, mayo, junio, julio, agosto, septiembre. El veinte cuatro de septiembre, que es día la festividad en la comunidad, el campesino estaba bailando ya su moreno con, con su ropa de moreno, bailando la morenada. Sí, cogeaba un poco, pero, no ha sido intervenido por médico, por un médico de la academia, que es la universidad, sino, la curación se han hecho ellos mismos.

Sí, he presenciado porque me he interesado en saber como era el proceso de la curación, todo eso. Pero, sí, el campesino ha tenido un reposo de unos [d], abril, mayo, junio, julio, unos cuatro meses ha estado postrado, hasta agosto más o menos ha estado postrado en su cama, y en [ay], no se movía para nada. No se movía para nada.

(D)e una vez que le han puesto esa masilla especie de masilla se preparado su molido, con todo eso (xx) con todo, [e] el campesino estaba en su cama, y hacía el hilado, el torcido de hilados pa su mujer. Después el tiempo, (xx) pierden el tiempo, y entonces estaba completamente sano bailando el moreno (xx), ¿no? Esa es la medicina natural que he visto así.

Era el mil novecientos sesenta y nueve, ¿no? sesenta y nueve. Mil novecientos sesenta y nueve.

APPENDIX IX  
NARRATIVE IX

Yo me llamo V. . . . Ahorita estoy trabajando acá in Radio Onda Azul. Mira, exactamente en Radia Onda Azul como ocho meses. Recién. . . . El ochenta y dos terminé la secundaria, y después me puse estudiar en una academia: contabilidad, secretariado, de todo un poco, de oficina. Y el ochenta y tres estuve trabajando en un colegio de contadores también como secretaria. Luego de eso engresé a la universidad, a periodismo. Estuve estudiando todo un año, de la cual he salido becada, ¿no?, primer puesto. Luego de esto por cuestiones económicas, tenía que dejar estudiar para ponerme trabajar, aquí en la Radio.

(A)hora estoy trabajando acá en la Radio de día, pero en la noche también estoy estudiando contabilidad, en un instituto superior, que es desde las seis y media hasta las diez y media, once de la noche. . . . de lunes a viernes. Sí, soy de Puno. Sí, nací acá y , bueno yo desde que he nacido practicamente yo he vivido en un solo barrio, es el barrio (xx), que es el barrio más cerca y la parte central de Puno. En la parte donde estoy viviendo, donde tengo me casa, es eso también en el barrio central mismo.

Mi papá hablaba quechua y aymara, los dos idiomas, también castellano. Mi mami solamente el castellano [um] con mucha dificultad, y el aymara.

(Y)o pienso seguir trabajando hasta donde me dejo la oportunidad, ¿no?, porque las condiciones económicas no me permiten dejar de trabajar.

(L)a intención de mi es [de] seguir estudiando pero por ejemplo yo he ido conversar con unos profesores de la universidad, explicarles mi situación, ¿no? Que me permitieran estudiar, que me dejaran solamente ir a dar los exámenes finales rendir o no rendir. Entons ellos me han dicho que "no" que necesariamente yo tengo que asistir a clases. Como yo trabajo en la mañana y en la tarde no me doy tiempo para asistir a las clases, ¿no? Habido como tres profesores que me han dado esa posibilidad de estudiar así. Me dijeron que sí, podía ir a dar exámenes [nomáh] y que (xx) podía presentar incluso, después de [tyé:mpo], que me conocían, que sabían que era una persona que [estudiá:ba], que rendía. Pero, entonces los tres profesores me han [inβitáo], ¿ya? Y son profesores que a veces no entienden, ¿no? Son estrictos, académicos. Dicen "no, la asistencia de la alumna va a ser veinte cinco por ciento." Si el alumno viene, y viene y está un poco mal, no riende, tienen posibilidades de (xx), que aquel no viene, y así (xx) el exam, ¿no? Habido exámenes por ejemplo en los que yo he asistido sin haber hecho clases con profesores me he preparado en la casa [nomáh] (xx) y ni querían sacar (xx) de exámenes a veces, ¿no? (xx) ha dado los exámenes y al final he salido lo mejor nota incluso de todos compañeros que bien ha asistido a clases. . . . Pero yo pienso que, lo que yo pienso ahora es terminar contabilidad, que me falta solamente dos semestres, porque estoy haciendo el sexto semestre ya, son ocho semestres. Tengo ya sexto semestre terminando ya ahora y terminar el octavo semestre y luego, luego, mire, como ya voy a tener un poco de tiempo por las noches terminar la contabilidad, hacer mi tesis, sacar me bachillerata en contabilidad y [despwé] ponerme estudiar periodismo. O si no, si es que por allí se las cierra las puertas de seguir estudiando periodismo, estoy pensando de postergar a la carrera de derecho.

Ese es el gran problema que estoy teniendo ahora, ¿no? Estaba pensando, tengo familia, ¿no? Pero, mira, por parte de mi esposo tengo una familia, pero ya, con diez nietos la abuela ya está cansada de los nietos ya más de edad y todo eso, por parte de mi él va a ser el primer, el primero de la familia, primer nieto, y además con ganas de verlo pero tengo que ver también que ella tiene que trabajar con el negocio entonces lo va a ser un poco difícil, estoy viendo. Estaba pensando una guardería. Sí, hay acá uno, pero pensando en la guardería de, tal vez, a veces es bueno los hijos desde muy chiquititos hay que hacer costumbre, hacer relaciones con todo el mundo y no hay que tenerlos muy muy sobreprotegidos porque hay veces (xx). Entonces los hijos salen con proyectos diferentes a los que han tenido los papás, ¿no? y con ideas diferentes a los de los papás. Por ese lado estaba pensando yo, con la idea guardería, pero, como quieren que yo pertenezco a un movimiento, y tenemos asesores también gente vieja, que ya tiene familia ya cuatro, cinco hijos, (xx) es decirle que es una cosa negativa también la guardería, ¿no? Porque hay veces traen no sé que tanta cosa, ¿no? Entonces estoy un poquito (xx) no sé como voy a hacer eso. Ese es mi gran problema. Hasta mientras que lo tenga, voy a ver, ¿no?, que posibilidades vengan, porque estaba pensando en una empleada también, pero una empleada o una persona (xx) acompañar solamente con el cuidado del bebé, pero ahora ya no sé estoy muy desafinada de ellas, ¿no? A veces a una mejor les trata, parece que peor se. . . , peor salen las cosas mal, ¿no?

(Carta oral a Guillermina de V.)

¿Qué tal? ¿Cómo estás, Guillermina? Te estoy hablándote yo de acá. Es tu hermana V. Te estoy mandando saludos a tí, también mando saludos a Roberto. La wawa yo no la conozco (xx) que con lo que me han contándome me han dicho que, que es linda ella, ¿no? Es rica la chiquita y quisiera

conocerla. Ojalá que cuando vengas en enero la puedas traer acá para conocerla, ¿no?

Nosotros acá Guillermina siempre con algunas problemas, con algunas dificultades de la familia, pero todo bien, ¿no? Todo siempre se [ažégla], ¿no? Mi mamá está bien. El problema que nosotros teníamos que tú ya conocías (xx) el problema judicial se ha arreglado más o menos. (xx) está en Lima, para no te preocupes, Guillermina. Y además quiero decir te que la Amalia sigue estudiando, el Raúl ingresó a la universidad en sociología que está [sistyéndo] clases. La Soraya también está estudiando y como tú ya sabrás yo estoy trabajando ya, acá en la Radio. La Amalia te va a contar algo de eso, ¿no? También te va a interesar que estoy esperando familia y que cuando llegues tal vez en enero ya encuentres otro miembro en la familia si será baron o mujer, ¿no? Nosotros siempre acá en Puno esperando tu [ʎeɣá:ða], para poder [komβersá:r] y poder unirnos mejo:r después de mucho tiempo de habernos separao, ¿no? como seis, siete años, después de no nos hemos visto.

También quiero decirte Guillermina que Aida viene de vez en cuando a vernos, pero no como debería de ser, ¿no? con una preocupación con nosotros, que decir "¿en qué problemas están? ¿qué es lo que tie:nen? ¿qué te puedo ayudar?", ¿no?, sino viene simplemente un [ratí:to], un saludo, y luego se va, ¿no? Nunca hacer tratar de preocupar por los problemas que podemos tener, yo:, Amalia, o qualquiera de nosotros, ¿no? Siempre desde lejos [nomáh], ¿no? y con cierto indiferencia viene siempre ella, ¿no? Y con respecto a (xx) dice de que no se ha arreglado nada, que más bien encontraría surgir de nuevos problemas, y hemos decidido por dejarlo así eso de (xx).

El tío Alejandro también se ha dedicao hablar un montón de cosas y a decirle que tú habías venido desde La Paz para reclamar solamente terre:nos,

que tú no tenías ningún [deréč]. Y que a nosotros nos ha desconocido del todo, ¿no?, Ha hecho de que nosotros no somos ni su familia ni nada, que si alguna vez mi papá tenía algo de amor era porque a él le daba pena y que por eso él tenía, pero que ahora que él se ha muerto, absolutamente nosotros ya no somos parte de la familia, dice, ¿no? Entonces ya no viene casi nunca a vernos y ni nunca más le he acercado ya, entonces no tenemos noticias de él ni tampoco ya creo que ya nos interese porque como (xx) con lo poco que gano por lo menos ya hay algo pa la casa y de alguna forma es una ayuda, ¿no? pa los de la casa, pa la [komí:ða] y de alguna forma ya estamos mejor que antes, ¿no?

Entonces yo quisiera decirte que tú no te preocupes mucho, estoy bien [nomáh] y que estamos bien con casi ningún problema, ¿no? En mi situación personal no tienes porqué preocuparte, porque estamos bien. Con Edgar más que todo estoy bien, no tengo problemas, ni con mis suegros hasta ahora no había ningún tipo de choque, nada. Con Radio he sentido el apoyo de ellos, y entonces no quisiera que te preocupes de eso, ¿no? [kestás] pensando de que puede pasarme [á:lgo] por el hecho de que estoy [kasá:ða], cualquier cosa. No. No, entonces una vez que tú llegues acá ya veremos cómo arreglamos eso ¿no?

Entonces yo no quisiera que te preocupes Guillermina, ¿no? También te estoy mandando saludos de parte de mi mamá, de parte de Helga, para vos y para todos.

APPENDIX X  
NARRATIVE X

AC: Bueno yo sé no? como he andado no?, bueno como antes bueno como, desde chango yo he caminado, con, caravanas, con llamas, estaba viajando a, [adéntrɔ], al lado de Sucre, más adentro [toðawía]. De Sucre todavía se queda eso como doscientos kilómetros de Sucre allá.

DS: Ah ¿doscientos kilómetros más? Y ¿de dónde salen las caravanas?

AC: Las caravanas salen de, de este, de provincia, Alvaroa, departament Oruro, la provincia de, nombre de Alvaroa. Sí. Bueno, nosotros así [ayβés], vinimos a la feria, es en abril, la feria en, Wari. [ésɔ]. Cada año es la feria no?

Entonces llega hay pues caravanas son, casi de dos años ¿no? de dos años de tres años llega, pero [nosɔtrɔs], y vendemos a los matanceros, llama macho, lo vendemos y con eso compramos también, este, los carawanas. Entonces, con esto vamos al valle, ese ya tres ya años ya cargan pues, cargueros son, de tres años.

Entonces viajamos con eso [e] bueno, [e] fuimos al valle, del walle sacamos así [tři:go], maíz, y bueno, hava, mayoría sacamos trigo y maíz, y sacamos y bueno de allá sacamos [e] ese trigo y maíz, [Λ m], lo hacemos moler, [e], también [ayβés] cuando no hay plata entonces eso traemos, llevamos a, por caravana para cambio, y bueno hacemos canje con eso, cada llama cambiamos a, un, tres arrobas, y tres, cuatro arrobas, depende de llama también. Hay alguno bonitos, más gordos, muy altos no? hay [ótrs] muy [čikíts] no?

Entonces, depende bueno del tamaño ¿no? Cuando es bueno entonces también ellos piden como cinco arrobas ¿no? entonces. Cuando es bueno también igual entonces, y traemos eso y también y lo criamos en nuestro pueblo y después el siguiente año también fuimos. Cada año pues, cada año.

DS: Y ¿cuántas llamas hay en las caravanas, así, cuánta gente, cuántas llamas?

AC: La gente tiene, depende bueno, ¿no?, depende de capacidad, algunos tiene bueno como [šen], algunos tiene cincuenta, diez, veinte. Depende ¿no? . . . De la gente pues tiene. Por ejemplo yo tenía, veinte tenía. Entonces de veinte, [ayβés] se moría ¿no? la llama siempre bueno [ayβés] con enfermedad se muere ¿no?, entonces [ayβés] llega hasta, dieziocho así, tonces aquí vamos allá también compramos como diez más entonces llevamos treinta. Tonses cada año entonces. Compramos diez el siguiente año entonces cuarenta, los que ya son viejos entonces hay que venderlo también tonces. Así, [e] creciendo y también disminuyeps, donde:, esto, como se llama:, también hayps machos ¿no? también venderlo entons, cuando hay así lo de esperamos buen también se puede morir los machos también, ya flaco ya no sirve también, siete años, seis años hay que venderlo ya. Sí. Dos años hay que tenerlo hasta siete años, de siete años los vendemos ya, ocho, nueve años [ya:] no dura ya.

DS: Se pueden cargar para cinco años más o menos.

AC: Sí. Carga, tres años, cuatro años bien cargueros son. Bien carga. Carga, carga bien. . . . Como, yo te digo mira así. Por ejemplo yo tengo, [miřáy] yo tengo veinte llamas. Digamos los veinte llama yo tengo, y ahora yo con veinte llamas viajo al valle, al valle viajo ¿no? Entonces viajo al valle, del valle llego con veinte llamas, hago llegar ya digamos veinte cargas. Buen entons veinte cargas, entons digamos diez cargas que sea para mi, ¿no?



Entonces pa comer ¿no? pa comer diez llamas digamos. Ntons de eses llamah yo lo llevo por llama, [nse] cambio entons para el siguiente año yo puedo tener treinta. Eso, con ese diez ya bueno por eso cambiamos con tres [añoas] no? La llama trae tres arroba nomás. Ntonses cambiamos con tres arrobas (xx) de dos añitos y un año y medio así. Entonces pa el siguiente año ntons ya próximo año yo puedo tener treinta llamas ya puedo tener. Eso te he dicho. . . . Entonces yo ya puedo tener treinta llamah ¿no ve? entonces treinta llama entonces con este, siguiente año puedo ir ya bueno con, puedo retornar con treinta llamas ya. Pero esos ya no son pues cargueros todavía. Tengo [kesperár' toḏawía].

DS: O sea la caravana de llamas es una ida y vuelta.

AC: Ida y vuelta.

DS: Nada más llevando productos y trayendo también (xx).

AC: También este, [e] este, alimentos, ¿no? Eso es.

DS: Pero venden los viejos y así.

AC: Allá, allá no vendemos. Nosotros vendemos claro. Allá en adentro algunos también quieren ¿no? entons para carne siempre quieren ¿no? Ntons [ayβéses] también cuando falta así pa comprar ¿no? entonces cambiamos también con una llama matamos, y lo cambiamos con maíz, así también con trigo ¿no? También cambiamos. Sí ntons, y lo traemos y bueno [šempre] bueno [nosotrs] llegamos a nuestro pueblo y vamos por, por caravana siempre vamos a este frontera Chile, a Sajama [ayβéses], [ayβéses] vamos a Corawa de Garancas, también vamos a este, [Λm] Sawaya. . . . Bueno nosotros ahí no traemos por eso como te digo, harina [e] trigo, y traímos y cambiamos con llama. Este llama llevamos allá, y llegamos a nuestro pueblo, de nuestro pueblo vamos a, al walle, ir al valle de ahí sacamos sal, pa cambiar también. Es pal valle no? Des ya no ya no se lleva nada, bueno solamente

lleva platita y tenemos que tener este, costales, [e] sogá, nada más. Y llegamos [ay] a una mina, es departaminto, es partaminto, Sucre es. Sucre. En ahí hay una mina, de sal. . . . Una mina, ¿no? minas son. Entonces ahí trabajan los, este, digamos como mineros ¿no?, la gente trabajan sacando sal, de la mina ¿no? Entonces ese sal compramos, compramos y ese sal llevamos en la llama, adentro. Esa sal es para, pa ganado compran allá, cambian con maíz, ellos quieren pa ganado ¿no? Alguna persona compran como cuatro quintal tres quintales. Algunos compran diez quintales con lo que tienen, según lo que tienen ganado pues y algunos tienen harta ganado entons también compran hartó. Ntons algunos tienen poco ganado entons también compran poco no?

Así, ntonse, así nosotros digamos siempre bueno, nosotros somos [ə] de familia C., yo soy C., mi apellido ntons familia C. somos unos casi cincuenta somos [uŋ] de un este nomás de, y una estancia, digamos, es un estancia cincuenta familia es. Somos C. pura C. Hay hartos [ó<sup>h</sup>třos] también A., también son igual. Pura pura familia. Allá vivimos nosotros pura familia familia familia vivimos. Cada estancia tiene su familia tiene. Bueno llevamos así ntons vamos, así traemos del valle nosotros.

DS: Y ¿cuántas llamas en total viajan así en las caravanas?

AC: [uuuu] Miles! . . . ¡Sí! ¡Sí! Porque mira no así. Por ejemplo yo soy mira, yo tengo mi hermano, dos [somoh] ¿no?, ntons yo ahorita yo tenía por eso [e] veinte llamas. Ntons. Otros mis tíos tienen como cincuenta llamas ¿no? [siŋkwé:nta], algunos tienen [očé:nta], entonces ellos tienen como ya cuatro familias así.

Entonces ellos viajan con los ochenta viajan. Viajan así. Con harta viaja. Por ejemplo yo mis familias son, ahorita debe ver [e], en esta estancita debe ver como, dos mil llamas tal vez, todos embra y macho. Macho debe ver un mil, sí, porque ahora tal vez ya tiempo ya no voy a mi pueblo tal vez ya,

no sé por qué, siempre yo voy así, hace, hay vez no hay también llego a la casa así, dos años un año así llego ya a mi pueblo. Ya no ahora aquí ya tengo mi casa y, ya no voy. Allá también es, porque mi pueblo no produce nada. Solamente hay llama, oveja, nada más.

DS: . . . Y también tú me has dicho una cosa, el otro día, que nunca las mujeres van.

AC: [mojéres] no van. Mujeres van [kompañaðdo] con el, con hombre. . . Van pues. Sí, pero mujeres sólo usted me ha dicho, mujer sola nunca, no, no van.

DS: Pero si yo estuviera con un equipo de gente trabajando, así.

AC: Sí. [a:] puede pues, puede eso. Yo he entendido que tú me ha dicho que "voy a ir sólo", no. Sólo no. Eso te he dicho.

DS: Así acompañado.

AC: Compañado, ¡qué!, por ejemplo ahorita puede ser tres [mojéres] con un hombre, puede porque, llamas son chócaras, pícaros son llamas. Es para hombre siempre es, es para hombre, y algunos también manzas son no? es también, no son igual la llama. Sí algunos son. . . Posible. Puede. Así es bueno. Ese sería lo que he andado con la llama. Y bueno, también bueno hay algo, [ayβéses] también compramos embra, en caravanas embra ¿no ve? entonces también pone críaps eso. Por ejemplo ahorita digamos, compramos, de tres años compramos, entonces diez compramos, pa el año, ya sacan los ocho o diez también. Sí, [ayβéses] fallan ¿no? Algunos fallan, entons que fallan bueno, un ocho o siete sacan así. Sí. También de allí salenps ya bueno, [ayβeś] sale mayoría embra, [ayeβś] sale también machos ¿no?, entons de allí también sacamos.

. . . Entons yo solito eraba ni cómo mantener y quien va a mantener mi mamá. Yo esa vez ya estaba joven. Entons yo andaba cada año con mis tíos.

[ayβéses] mis tíos también algunos son malos ¿no? se aburrían pues, que donde va, cada año va a estar ayudando a mi mamá, con la llama, ¿no?

Entons yo mira chango ya como, trece años. Yo ya he, he sabido cargar todo ya, y listo. Apenas nomás [ayβéses] la carga, estaba sobiendo a la llama. No podía sobir. Mi mamá sabía estar ayudándome a mi, sobir ¿no? De ahí ya, así es andar.

Sí, entonces, ya así bueno ya, cuando ya he tenido mi mujer, ya no, ya lo he dejado la llama. Sí, ya no he andado aquí, porque siempre bueno me he dedicado a ser comerciante, bueno. Más antes todavía viajando yo por lado de Santa Cruz, así adentro. Por esos lados de ahí, lo he dejado ahora. Ya no tengo llama ya. Ya no tengo llama.

. . . Sí, porque yo he andado pues como, sesentayochó, nueve, ese chango estaba, yo estaba viajando, esa vez, [puuu], este el camino, es grave, por el camino grave es cargar llama, ese tiempo.

DS: Pero tú crees que, por ejemplo, nuevos caminos en que pueden salir camiones, todo eso, ¿ya está cambiando? ¿las caravanas de llamas?

AC: Sí, ahora dice que ya está cambiando porque ya no, ya no anda mucho llama dice ahora, porque está mucho en camión más va más fácil pues, y más fácil, consiguen platita, tiene ya su llama y lo vende la llama, y con eso más fácil van en camión, llegan en dos semanas y ya bueno, es más fácil [e] mucho gastito pero es [mínus] trabajo, fácil es.

. . . Es la verdad, está cambiando, está cambiando, [werðáð]. Igual decía en mi pueblo, mis familias, dice que tenía mi abuelo, dizque tenía la llama hartó! Ahorita tiene los canchones tiene, de llama, los canchones tiene los [Λm], los estes, los canchones digamos los estes, ¿no?, los morallas, tiene ahora de piedra son pues eso. Tiene, lo tiene ahorita. Tiene su casa, está deshecho todo pero, tiene.

DS: ¿Los canchones todavía está?

AC: Sí, tiene todavía. Este dizque tenía llenito la llama. Aparte dice que tenía alpaca. Dizque antes era dizque era lindo, ahora no hay eso. Porque hay mucha gente ahora. Y dónde va el campo y si mucho criando criando (*sic*) la llama y dónde va a estar la llama, porque no hay campo, hay mucha gente. No hay caso, criar harto llama ahora, hay poco claro, está bien para, pa viajar así, par cargar, bueno, siempre en campo necesita pues la gente, par cargar bueno llega de la de, cómo se llama, de carro traen, de camino hacen llegar ¿no ve? ¿y al camino? Del camino para trasladar a este, a su casa.

Entons tiene que estar llama. Entonces es siempre llama, no va a estar yendo cargando no, y algunos claro dentra camiones a algunos, estancias ¿no? ahí lo lleva en camión. Y algunos no tiene bueno, tiene que llevar al carretero, tiene que llevar en llama. Sí, o burros ¿no? Sí. Así es. Sí.

Entonces, ya, de poco [a] poco está cambiando, es verdad. Sí. Está cambiando. Algunos lo han vendido la llama, todito lo han vendido, se han ido a Yungas, a este, a Chapari, ¿no? En Chapari está la mayoría la gente, coca está, ahí han ido la gente, lo han dejado así, todo, algunos son las casas está así está desrumbandose así está las casas. Sí. . . . Sí. Así señora. Sí porque antes siempre ¿no? la gente no veníaps aquí a la ciudad, nadaps. Siempre estaba en el campo viviendo con llama.

APPENDIX XI  
NARRATIVE XI

TH: Señora A., usted refería a Don E. P. y su hermano y la trayectoria que han tenido en la educación indigenal. Me gustaría saber, ¿cuál era el objetivo, o qué quería hacer, del indio, Don E. P. tanto como Don R. P.?

AP: Está muy claro expresado en su libro. El quería liberar al campesino. Eh decir que, que mostrar ante la gente que ellos podían trabajar y podían, es decir, superar esa, esa, esa vida que tenían ¿no? no ser los siervos, no ser los esclavos y un día por lo menos ser letrados, y estar de igual igual en cualquier lado. Esa era la idea de E. P.

TH: Ahora, si hoy día, supongamos, estuvieran vivos Don E. P. tanto como R. P., ¿cómo enfrentarían la educación actual? ¿Podría darnos alguna opinión, Señora A.?

AP: Bueno yo de mi padre puedo hablar, pero de E. P., no puedo hablar mucho. A mi lo que yo sé de mi tío E. es que ha servido a gobiernos que, oligárquicos ¿no? Entonces para mi es un poquito sobre eso. Ahora ha tenido oportunidad en esos momentos de tener, unos cargos políticos, puede ser ¿no? que haya (xx) seguramente lo ha hecho con la idea de llegar al campesino como autoridad, no importa de que forma ¿no? Eso es, yo creo es justificable. En cambio mi padre ha sido persona de mucho más de izquierda. Tenía, tenía raíces de su vida muy muy de izquierda ¿no? Pero eso también yo creo, a pesar que no puedo explicar, ni sé exactamente como ha sido, pero, me ha quedado, me ha quedado pues en el recuerdo muy profundamente, la

forma de que soy yo ¿no? Y esa forma solo ha tenido que ser a través de las ideas de mi padre, es decir, como he visto trabajar a mi padre, le he escuchado hablar, como impreso en sus hijos, especialmente en mí que he vivido toda la vida con él, como impreso sus ideas ¿no?

Hay un asunto de mi padre, que, antesito de ir a las escuelas indígenas, él estuvo en la escuela Agustín Aspiazu, que él llamó 'experimental', Agustín Aspiazu ¿no? Era Agustín Aspiazu pero la mentó experimental. Ahí, el alumno tenía que hacer su propio directorio, es decir su propia directiva. Ahí ellos se manejaba ¿no? Ellos tenían su, ellos, no, no sé bien, pero era una idea avanzada. Era la primera escuela en [éss] momentos, en la República, de ese tipo, que ahora sí que en todas partes, tratan de hacer eso ¿no? de que el mismo alumno se maneje. Había incluso me acuerdo que había, como decirle, una cosa de libertad, que quienes querían, podían entrar al curso, quienes no querían, no podían entrar al cu-, no necesariamente tenían que entrar al curso ¿no? O si no, podían entrar a otros cursos. Era, se les daba demasiada libertad. Y habían, y se manejaba mediante la directiva de los alumnos, todavía no de los padres de familia, ha sido a su posterior ¿no? Y hay muchos, hay muchos pues, alumnos de mi padre desde entonces, quien sabe mejor eso, es mi hermano ¿no? porque actualmente él es amigo de los que fueron alumnos de mi padre en la escuela Aspiazu. Yo tengo muy mala memoria, además yo no he vivido en La Paz, entonces, me he desvinculado totalmente con esa gente ¿no? No tengo ese círculo de amistades, ntons no conozco a esa gente, pero mi hermano, sí, los conoce a uno, y a otro, y sabe.

Pero eso es una idea que dan, de que mi padre era muy revolucionario ¿no? entonces él siempre quiere, estaba buscando métodos nuevos, y tenía una biblioteca mi padre, que era del, del primer pedagogo de Bolivia, que entonces era Mario Legran, hasta ahora tengo algunos libros de él. El se

llamaba, [ayayay], bueno, su seudónimo era Mario Legran, y él, mi papá le compró esos libros su biblioteca a ese señor.

TH: Señora A., hace poco también refería un poco el rol de la iglesia, digamos, a través de los sacerdotes en Caísa. Usted, en su opinión, ¿cómo vería hoy día, cuál podría ser el papel de la iglesia, de los sacerdotes ahora, en el campo, con los campesinos, referido a la educación?

AP: Bueno, yo tengo una clara idea sobre eso. Yo estaba, yo he estado muy de cerca con un grupo de la iglesia ¿no? un grupo aquel realmente admiro ¿no?. Y para mi, es decir, yo he conocido a la etapa de Caísa, de Warisata, que para mi ha sido muy linda, muy grande, y a este grupo más o menos, comparo con ese grupo ¿no? gente que, de total desprendimiento, como se interesa por la gente de, del campesino, es decir, gente, gente muy muy linda. Pero, así como iglesia, yo no estoy de acuerdo con esa parte, iglesia ¿no? Con esas personas, sí, estoy (xx) yo, a mi me gustaría trabajar con ellos hacer una cosa común, pero como iglesia no. Porque yo tengo una opinión muy diferente de lo que es iglesia, por ejemplo hoy día ¿qué ocurre? Hoy día ocurren, de que en nombre de toda esa gran gente de campo, traen muchísimo dinero. Traen la iglesia angélica, la iglesia católica, un montón de gente, y al final se aprovechan de sus dineros ¿no? No llegan al campo como deberían llegar. Hacen alguna labor, indudablemente que la hacen ¿no? pero esa gente que hace esa labor, por ejemplo las monjitas, esas, son, es gente admirable. Ahí están en los hospitales, metidos, curando los enfermos pobres, pero, hacen, no quiero comparar ese trabajo, claro que es parte de la iglesia ¿no? No quiero que, me parece que es otra gente que está trabajando ahí, y otra gente, la cúpula, la gente, otra gente ¿no? A mi me parece que son dos gentes bien diferentes ¿no? totalmente distintas, la que está trabajando ahí codo a codo con el hermano pobre, y el otro que sta tratando de apercollar



dineros y dineros, y se hace de edificios, y se hace de una cosa y se hace de otra cosa, y es prepotente, y abusa del mismo campesino, y no se da cuenta, bueno se da cuenta, de que todo eso lo tiene, porque pide en nombre de nuestro pueblo, porque les mandan dinero en nombre de nuestro pueblo.

TH: [affirmative sound] Señora, le voy a hacerle una última pregunta, que, sería referido un poco, usted ha vivido con su padre, en Caísa, pues ha estado también en Warisata, y ya estaba formando parte, de esa, educación indigenal durante su vida. Hoy día, ¿en qué medida usted continúa, ese trabajo, con el campesinado?

AP: Lastimosamente no hago nada con el campesinado. Yo quiero acercarme a ellos porque como les he dicho al comienzo, [ee], encuentro menos esa amistad antiguo esa amistad de mi infancia, de mi juventud. Por eso me gusta estar con ellos charlar con ellos, me, me siento más, en mi ambiente. Pero lamentablemente, no creo, sería, sería mentir si digo que hago algo por ellos ¿no? no hago nada.

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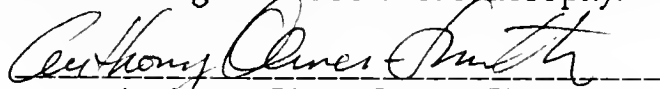
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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

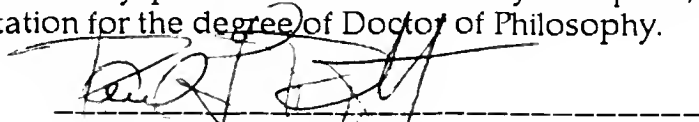
Billie Dale Stratford was born in Greensboro, N.C., on August 17, 1946, and attended high school and college in South Carolina. Ms. Stratford graduated from Winthrop College with a B.A. in philosophy in 1967, and in 1968 received an M.Ed. in philosophy of education from the University of Florida. After working as director and educational coordinator in educational programs for inner-city youth, and then as a labor organizer, for several years, Ms. Stratford studied linguistics and English as a second language. She received her M.A. in linguistics from the University of South Florida in 1980. She plans to continue linguistic and anthropological research in the Andes and hopes to contribute to teaching in these fields at the college or university level.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



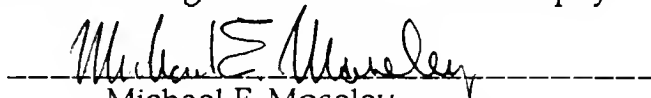
Anthony Oliver-Smith, Chairman  
Associate Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



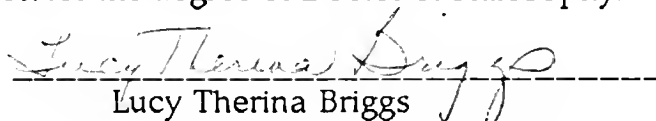
Paul L. Doughty  
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



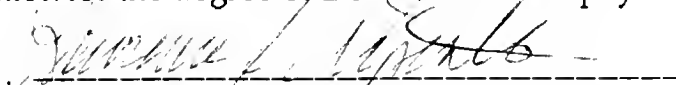
Michael E. Moseley  
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Lucy Therina Briggs  
Visiting Associate Professor of  
Latin American Studies

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Lawrence K. Carpenter  
Associate Professor of Anthropology

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